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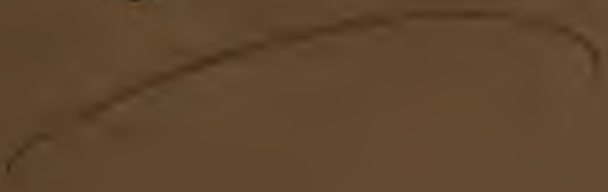
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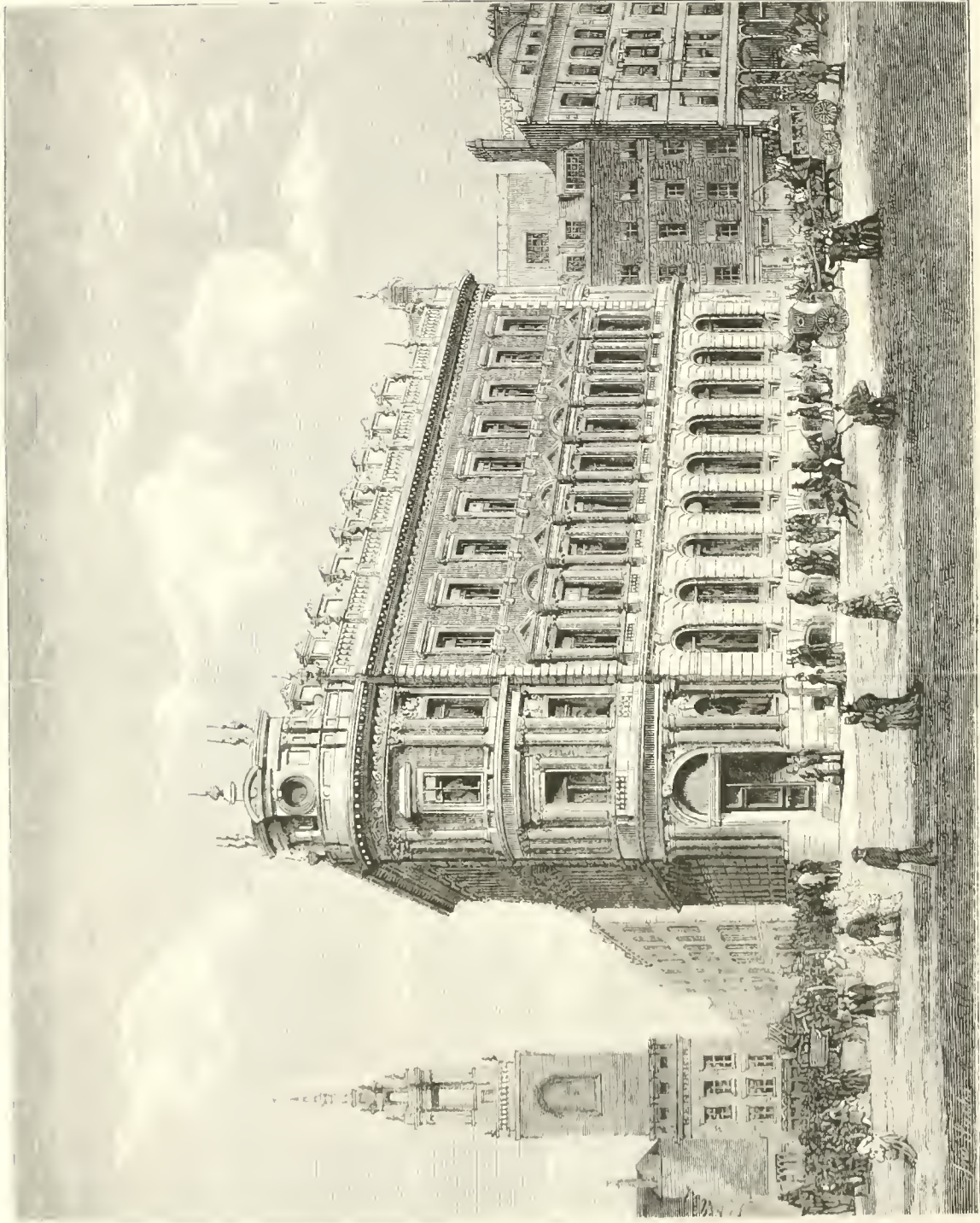


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ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

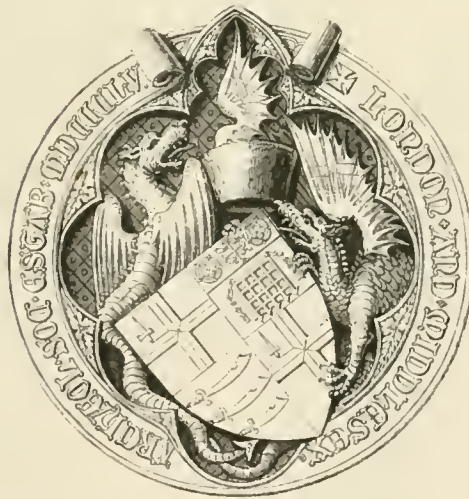
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THE NATIONAL SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY'S PREMISES,
MANSION HOUSE, LONDON.

BY

JOHN E. PRICE, F.S.A.,

HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE LONDON AND MIDDLESEX ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.



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1873.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY DISCOVERED

ON THE

SITE OF THE NATIONAL SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY'S PREMISES.

OF the numerous excavations which commercial enterprise has of late years rendered necessary in the City of London few have possessed greater antiquarian attractions than the works which, since the autumn of last year, have been steadily progressing at the north-western corner of Walbrook. It was well known that to erect a building of the magnitude required by the National Safe Deposit Company a great depth for the foundation would have to be attained, and to reach the solid clay a large amount of ancient *débris* must be cleared, that a portion of the course once pursued by the stream of Walbrook would be visible, and, on completion of the works, every trace of the existence of this particular section of the old watercourse would for ever be removed. A representation of this to the architect to the Company secured every opportunity for investigation. The directors granted immediate access, and, assisted by the ever-ready co-operation of Mr. Harry S. Greaves, clerk of the works, I am enabled to prepare the following account of observations made, accompanied by illustrative descriptions of many of the antiquities discovered. In this way it has become possible to acquire, from unquestionable data, additional facts of interest connected with the occupation of London in Roman times. It is only to be regretted that such facilities have not oftener been afforded, in times when the site of our City was comparatively new to antiquarian research, and when the materials for the elucidation of its early history were far more plentiful than now. The greater portion of the information from which antiquarian writers have been compelled to collect their materials has too often been of a most uncertain kind; and has in many cases depended on statements of the workmen employed.

Antiquities have (as they still are) been offered to the collector as coming from certain localities with which they have had no connection whatever. If not the actual fabrications of the forger they have oftentimes come from collections made abroad, have found their way to the dealers in such articles, and thence to the cabinets of the unwary. It is rarely the case now that antiquities can be collected from any London site with that certainty as to locality which is after all the chief feature in the interest that appertains to their discovery. The result is that statements are sometimes made upon dubious authority, and conclusions arrived at of at least a questionable kind.

In order that the discoveries now made may be alike intelligible to the casual reader as well as of utility to those whose pursuits may lead them more deeply into the regions of archaeology, it becomes necessary to review briefly some of the opinions expressed by former writers as well as the discoveries which they have described and illustrated in connection with Roman London, and in doing this it is proposed, while recapitulating what is known of the topography of the district immediately under consideration, to ascertain as we proceed how far labours already undertaken are confirmed and illustrated by the present investigations. The early history of London will be first noticed, next the excavations themselves, and lastly a description given of the numerous antiquities which have been exhumed.

As with all places whose foundations belong to a period anterior to written testimony, the early history of our city is involved in obscurity. It commences in the regions of myth and fable, with traditions * which found credence in the twelfth century and on through a period late in mediæval history, but are nevertheless now commonly considered as speculations alike worthless and untrue. Of anything like aboriginal barbarians such as in the present day it is customary to assign to "prehistoric" times no remains exist. The megalith builders have left no evidence of their works, no trace whatever of "stone," "bronze," or "iron," which can be appropriated to pre-Roman times, not a single flint implement has (to our knowledge) ever been found within the City, nor any article of pottery, which in a clay district like London it may be presumed would have been plentiful, no early British or Gaulish coins † prior to the Roman era, nor any of the relics

* See *References to the Traditions of Geoffrey of Monmouth* preserved in the *Liber Albus*; and in the *Recordatorium Civitatis Speculum*.

† Mr. Akerman writes: "If the Britons had a coinage of their own previously to the arrival of Caesar the fact is not proved by existing examples."—*Ancient Coins*, p. 198.

A flint implement was found in Gray's Inn Lane which gave rise to a romantic story which may

which in rural districts bear evidence of a large aboriginal population, and such as would prove any extensive occupation by the early British tribes of that vast extent of land which (at least eighteen feet beneath the present level) was bounded by dense vegetation on the north and was intersected by the well-known stream of Wallbrook, which, with its tributary rivulets, formed a devious course from beyond Moorfields to the River Thames. It has, however, still been sought by some to bestow upon London a British or Gaulish origin—to view it as a position of magnitude and importance long prior to the arrival of Julius Caesar. The evidence for this is, to say the least, most incomplete. The arguments in favour of it are such as will equally apply to the subsequent colonisation of the spot by *Romanised* Britons. Its position on the River Thames, its consequent direct communication with the continent, combined with the trade and commerce which is known to have subsisted between Gaul and Britain prior to the coming of Julius, as well as the position which, according to Tacitus, was assumed by London on the occasion of the revolt of the Iceni and Trinobantes in the days of Suetonius Paulinus, A.D. 61, are all as applicable to one period as the other. Indeed far more so, for the connection of London with the Trinobantes of Caesar's day is but doubtful and uncertain, and whatever the remnants of habitations that are met with they are all Roman, and constructed on the virgin soil. At the same time it is admitted that its position on a large navigable river rendered it a desirable situation as the emporium of

be here quoted if only on account of its absurdity. John Bagford, speaking of his friend Mr. John Conyers, an apothecary, who formerly lived in Fleet Street, writes: "It was this very gentleman that discovered the body of an elephant as he was digging for gravel in a field near to the sign of Sir John Oldecastle in the fields not far from Battle Bridge and near to the river of Wells, Fleet Ditch, which, though now dried up, was a considerable river in the time of the Romans. How this elephant came there is the question. I know some will have it to have lain there ever since the universal deluge. For my own part I take it to have been brought over with many others by the Romans in the reign of Claudius the Emperor, and conjecture, for a liberty of guessing may be indulged to me as well as to others that maintain different hypotheses, that it was killed in some fight by a Briton, for not far from the place where it was found a British weapon made of a flint lance like unto the head of a spear fastened into a shaft of a good length, which was a weapon very common amongst the ancient Britons, was also dug up, they having not at that time the use of iron or brass, as the Romans had." (See Leland's *Collectanea*, pp. 62-1770.) This implement is yet in existence and is engraved in the *Archæologia*; it is, of course, but a geological illustration. Mr. Evans writes: "Though quaternary gravels extend beneath a considerable part of London, no other discoveries of implements have been made in them within the town itself. In the suburbs, however, several such implements have been found, and of different types." (See *Stone Implements of Great Britain*, by J. Evans, F.R.S.) The romance, however, served to originate the sign of the public-house known as the Elephant and Castle, which stood in this locality.

trade, a place from which goods could be shipped in quantities, and a nucleus around which would gather a moving population of traders in natural products and manufactures. These would send on their goods from the interior, and thus ensure shipment to the continent. It may be viewed as a village, station, or market-place for such commodities, and would resemble the ports upon the coast line or river side, accessible to the natives of a country connected with the far-off colonies of our own times. Its subsequent grandeur, development, and growth is to be referred, as we shall see, to Roman times; for the growth of all cities must depend on existing congenial circumstances as much in ancient days as now. Any increase in trade necessitates the occupation of a larger population, and when we consider that the Romans were masters of our land for nearly 400 years, so long a period could hardly elapse without material alterations taking place both in the limits and character of the first settlement of the city. To bring this before our own experience we have but to compare the metropolis of the reign of Queen Elizabeth with that of the present day, or further to reflect upon the extension of the city and increase of its population within the last fifty years. Liverpool is another case in point, its commercial growth is within human recollection; and Brighton also, as a place of recreation and resort, is an illustration of how rapidly a town may start into importance from but the humblest of beginnings. With all our increase we have not yet reached to the extent of Rome as a city. In the reign of Valerian * it is said to have been enclosed by a circumference of fifty miles, and possessed, says Lipsius,† a population of 4,000,000 inhabitants.

The first mention of London by classic writers is that already referred to as occurring in the Annals of Tacitus. In describing the insurrection under Boadicea the author speaks of London as being celebrated for its merchants and its trade, “*copia negotiatorum et commeatorum maxime celebre*,” and as contributing with Camulodunum and Verulamium a large proportion, viz., between the three places, of 70,000 citizens and allies to its subjection. It is to be presumed that these allies, the *socii* of our author, were no small proportion of the number. It is well known that many of the petty British kings were at war with each other, and, consequently, many of the states were friendly to the Roman power. Caesar himself tells us that many ambassadors came to him undertaking to provide hostages,‡ and with offers of submission to his rule. It is probable therefore that in this insurrection there were included many of the characteristics of a civil war. It has been usually the

* *Vopiscus in Aureliano.*

† *Fabricii Roma*, cap. 2.

‡ *Cæsar, Comm.* iv. 2.

custom to abide by the opinion originating in another quotation from Tacitus, to the effect that after the first advent of Cæsar, whose stay was but of short duration, and who advanced but little beyond the coast, that Britain remained in a state of oblivion to the time of Claudius, nearly a hundred years later—"longa oblivio Britanniae, etiam in pace," writes Tacitus, and Suetonius Tranquilius makes a similar statement. Neither of these writers lived during the period which intervened, indeed they flourished more than fifty years after it had expired. In a recent paper, to be found in the *Archæologia*,* the last composition indeed of our late friend W. H. Black, F.S.A., entitled "An hitherto unnoticed Expedition of Augustus into Britain," he conclusively shows that there is no foundation for this long period of forgetfulness, and from numerous quotations derived from contemporary writers demonstrates that a constant communication with the country was kept up, and that a gradual colonization of the soil was indeed regularly going on. One of the most important of his references, and which bears more particularly on our present subject, is that to the celebrated speech of Boadicea, on the occasion of the revolt. It is to be found in Xiphiline, as follows: "We have been ourselves the cause of all these evils in permitting them, *i.e.* the Romans, at the beginning to land on this island, and not straightway driving them away as we did Julius Cæsar, in not making the very attempt to sail hither terrible, even at a distance from our shores, as we did to Augustus and Caius Caligula."

With such facts as these, which could be readily multiplied, it is easy to understand how in the period extending from B.C. 54 to A.D. 43 our city should become totally changed, that a flourishing place of business should spring up from but a small original settlement, and that the importance and prosperity recorded by Tacitus might now be looked for. Such conditions are fully borne out by the subsequent submission of the Romanised Britons at the advent of Claudius. We know how honours were decreed to him by the Senate, how he determined to celebrate a real triumph, and selected Britain for the purpose, how he went to Marseilles, thence to Gessoriacum, now Boulogne, landed in this country upon the Kentish coast, and, with but a stay of sixteen days in Britain, returned without battle or bloodshed to Rome, in less than six months from the time of his departure, and there, says the historian, "triumphed with grand array." This pacific submission is recorded in an inscription upon a slab discovered in the fifteenth century at Rome, which commemorates the conquest

* *Archæologia*, xliv. 65.

† Xiphiline, *Epitome of Dio Cassius*, lib. 62.

of Clandius, and states how the British kings were subdued without disaster. An excellent description of this monument appears in Mr. Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. v. p. 93.

In the mention of Londinium in Middlesex by Tacitus he writes that in his day it did not enjoy the dignities of a colony, "cognomente quidem coloniæ non insigne," such as did Camulodunum in Essex, or the rights and privileges of a "municipium" like Verulamium in Hertfordshire, both of which places are referred to in connection with our city. The distinctive differences in these titles are difficult to point out, and they naturally have much to do with the particular period in the history of each to which the meaning of the author may be applied. But their consideration has much to do with the present subject, and it will be necessary to point out as concisely as is possible the nature of the colonial cities of the Empire, the laying out of which has been so carefully described in the scanty writings of the agrimensors or land surveyors of the time. This is the more important because, as will be presently shown, ample evidence has appeared in the course of these investigations at Walbrook to conclusively establish the fact, that at the time of the Roman occupation London was subjected to the same marvellous system of assignment and limitation as that which is known to have been practised by its imperial masters in their colonial settlements abroad. The record of one fact derived from actual observation must be worth pages of theory, and, viewing the direction to which these studies are now tending, it is not improbable that information here contributed may ultimately serve to illustrate many points of interest connected not only with the boundaries of Roman London, but with those of other ancient towns still existing in this country.* It is now generally admitted that the texts of the Agrimensura are applicable to the Italian provinces, but the majority of our antiquaries have doubted whether the system ever affected the colonisation of our own country. In another place† the writer has endeavoured to show that no reason can exist why Britain should be excluded from the number, the *universos provinciales*‡ which are referred to in the imperial edicts, and that it can only be from want of our better acquaintance with the subject in all its details that necessitates the caution that exists as to receiving explanations of

* Ptolemy, who wrote about A.D. 120, mentions 56 cities as then in existence in Britain.

† Notes on Roman Remains in London and Middlesex, *London and Middlesex Archaeological Transactions*, vol. iii. by J. E. Price, F.S.A.

‡ See Lachmann's *Gromatici Veteres*, p. 268. A rescript of Constantine upon a point of the Agrimensura.

matters hitherto inexplicable, but which the more they are studied the more important they become, and are at the same time as simple as they are curious.

The term *colonia* as originally applied would refer to most districts subject to Roman rule. In the words of my esteemed friend H. C. Coote, F.S.A. "Colonisation meant the foundation of a new city with an allotment thereto, as and in the name of territory; the latter to be legally subject to the municipal authority of that city, and to be divided and assigned to the colonists in proprietary grants. This was a colony, in other words a renewal and reproduction of the original city in a strange land, or in the words of Michelet "une extension de la metropole." * *Municipia* are said to have been towns existing in the conquered countries and not actually founded by the Romans, the inhabitants enjoying their own institutions with a portion of the rights of Roman citizens, and as time went on gradually becoming amalgamated with the new comers and attaching themselves to their laws and customs. Gibbon tells us how they insensibly equalled the rank and splendour of the colonies, and in the reign of Hadrian it was disputed which enjoyed the preferable condition, those societies which had issued from or those which had been received into the bosom of Rome.† "A city," writes Mr. Coote, "might be *municipium*, *forum*, *præfectura*, *conciliabulum*, names at one time familiar to the Roman system and expressing differences in municipal organisation, in privileges, or obligations relating to Rome, but all agreeing in the one fact, that they were Roman colonies. Afterwards, but much later, the term *colonia* was applied to the city itself, as expressing a municipal difference and prerogative, and *civitas* became the general name for all colonial cities, which, however they might differ in some points, agreed in the circumstance of having a territory attached to them."‡ "An interesting disputation occurs in Aulus Gellius (xvi. 13) upon the differences between *coloniæ* and *municipia*. These differences even in his day were hard to catch, the historical rights and obligations upon which they had been founded having faded into oblivion." He says, "Sic adeo et municipia quid et quo jure sint, quantum que a colonia differant ignoramus existimamus que meliore conditione esse colonias." He adds that there was a general opinion that a so-called *colonia* or *municipium* having *jus coloniæ* was greater or more respectable than an

* See Centuriation of Roman Britain, by H. C. Coote, F.S.A., *Archæologia*, vol. xlii.

† Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, vol. i. Milman. See L. L. Manilia, Roscia Peducia, Alliena, Fabia, &c. in Lachman's *Gromatici Veteres*, page 263; also *Aulus Gellius*, xvi. xii.

‡ Civitates enim quarum conditiones aliæ sunt coloniæ dicuntur, municipia, quædam præfectura. *Siculus Flaccus*, p. 135, Lachman.

ordinary *municipium*. The emperors granted *jus coloniae* to cities which had never been colonies. It is here worthy of remark that Aulus Gellius and Tacitus were contemporary writers.

In view of the foregoing we may then speak of London as a *civitas* having its county attached according to this Roman rule. This in other words is the territory of Middlesex. A similar designation will apply to those other colonies which were planted in Britain, viz. Camulodunum, Lindum, Deva, Glevum, Aquæ Solis, &c., at all of which places important cities remain. Londinium is thus the head of the colony, becomes the chief city and capital, and we are prepared for the statements of Ammianus Marcellinus, of its having received the dignified title of Augusta. This author wrote in the reign of Gratian, about A.D. 380, and he states that, when Lupicinus came over to repel the incursions of the Picts and Scots, he sailed from near Boulogne to Richborough and proceeded to London as his headquarters. And again, on referring to the advance of Theodosius on a similar expedition the general is described as marching in high spirits from Augusta, which the ancients used to call Londinium. Under the title of Augusta London became the seat of the Romano-British Treasury.* In the *Notitia Dignitatum Utriusque Imperii*, where, under the supreme disposition of a high officer at Rome entitled the Count of the Sacred Largesses, two subordinate officers are registered, the one an accountant-general, denominated the Rational of the Sum of Britain (*Britanniarum*), and the other the Provost of the Treasures of Augusta in Britain. This important position it has since held, and as the seat of government retains its supremacy to the present day. Sometimes it has been called "Colonia Augusta," which may be easily explained; as a title of honour or distinction the appellation is frequently met with among the Roman settlements abroad,† and therefore may be looked for here; for we may pause to remark that it is utterly erroneous to suppose that when the last of the Roman legions left the country its departure was succeeded by a complete exodus of the resident population, and that the commercial and domestic growth of some four

* See *Introduction to the History of the Leathersellers' Company*, by the late W. H. Black, F.S.A.

† For example, Nola, introduced, Colonia Augusta Vespasianus Augustus deduxit. Iter populo debetur pedibus cxx. Ager ejus limitibus Sullanis militi fuerat assignatus, postea intercessivis mensuris colonis et familie est adjudicatus. It was at Nola in Campania that Augustus died A.U.C. 766, in the 76th year of his age. Puteolis, Colonia Augusta, Augustus deduxit. Iter uno latere populo debetur pedibus xxx. Ager ejus in jugeribus veteranis et tribus legionariis est assignatus. Puteoli, the usual landing-place from the East. See *Julius Frontinus*, edit. 1674, p. 196. Another instance of this dedicatory compliment to the Emperor is "Colonia Agrippina," the Cologne of the present day.

hundred years became at once annihilated. On the contrary, no such collapse took place; all remained behind; the Government of Rome was diverted from the island, but its civil and domestic institutions were adopted by the people and afterwards by the Saxon Governors. Those not actually recognised became gradually absorbed and amalgamated with the laws and customs introduced by the new comers. To work out this has become one of the most fascinating branches of our science, for by comparative illustration it can be clearly shown how very much there is that has descended to the present day which can be ascribed only to a Roman origin. There has really been but little radical change. Our cities have increased, but it has invariably been upon the same principles which governed their foundation. Roman London was but a reproduction of other Roman cities, as Roman Britain was, with all allowance for peculiarity in climate and situation, but as other provinces of the Empire, and one only of many others, which, with their great centre in Italy, made up the Imperial system.

The municipal institutions of the City of London are of themselves the illustrations of its origin and antiquity, and evidence of the gradual progress of that particular form of representative government which is enjoyed by all our commercial towns. So thoroughly indeed does the Latin element predominate in all that pertains to the internal jurisdiction of the city, that we can hardly fail to discern the true character of its foundation. A large number of the "rights" and "privileges" of the citizens can be traced to this fountain head. They have withstood the test of centuries, and, surviving all kinds of change in matters of rule and custom, yet exist, and, though oftentimes modified in points of detail, are still cherished with a jealous care by the descendants of men and women who lived and died beneath their influence more than fifteen hundred years ago. When Britain became a Roman province its management was entrusted to a superior officer known as the Prætor or Proprætor, whose position as far as can be ascertained from commemorative inscriptions was that of a direct ambassador or vice-general of the Emperor, a "legatus Augusti." The first of these of whom mention exists was Aulus Plautius. He accompanied Claudius on his expedition into Britain, and numerous monuments, especially along the line of the Roman wall in Northumberland, testify to the names of his successors, and refer also to the Emperors in whose reigns they lived. It has been assumed that this officer may at times have resided at London, from the circumstance of various tiles having been discovered with letters upon them, such as PRÆ.LON, PPBR.LON, P.BRI.LON., P.PR.LON, &c. These have been ingeniously interpreted by Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A. to mean "Proprætor of Britain at Londinium;"



FOUND IN LOTHBURY, 1847.

but it is fair to say that other readings are equally applicable, though the fact of their reference to London must remain unquestioned. Charles Roach Smith, F.S.A. was the first to record and illustrate the discovery of these tiles. He observes that "the letters may be read at least half-a-dozen ways without any very forced construction. There may be a doubt whether the BRI. may refer to the province of Britain or to the *Brittones*, auxiliary troops whose presence in the north of Britain has been made known by inscriptions. If the former reading be adopted as the more satisfactory, then the stamps may mean *Præses* or *Proprætor Provinciæ Britanni Londinii*; if the latter, *Præfectus Prime (cohortis understood) Brittonum Londinii*. "In either case," adds Mr. Smith, "the correctness of the proposed reading is not confirmed by comparison with other recorded examples, for, as has been observed, these inscriptions constitute a new and peculiar class."* The importance of these tiles is very great, and their interest exceptional, from the fact of their being the only reference to London which exists in the form of an inscription. Inscribed stones have always been exceedingly rare among London discoveries. Recorded examples are probably under twenty, and the finding of these extends over a period of nearly a hundred, years. It is probable that others have been found, but have been lost or destroyed. Of those of which mention exists the majority are sepulchral in their character, and were discovered among the remains of cemeteries which adjoined the highways beyond the city walls. The commemorative inscriptions are principally military, comprising memorials to soldiers of the second, sixth,

* The most perfect specimen of an inscribed tile is probably that formerly possessed by the late E. B. Price, F.S.A. and now in the British Museum. It is a large *imbrex* or ridge-tile, and has upon it in bold letters PP. BR. LON. It was found in Wood Street. Similar ridge-tiles have been found at York bearing legionary inscriptions, and had been selected for sepulchral purposes. These bore upon them LEG. VI. VI (*Legio Sexta Victrix*); also LEG. IX. IIISP. (*Legio Nona Hispanica*); also at Chester in commemoration of the twentieth legion, LEG. XX. VV. See also tiles found at Caerleon and at Slack near Huddersfield, where a tile-tomb was discovered formed with flanged tiles 21 inches by 16, having upon them COH. III. BR. They are described by J. Fairless Barber, *Arch. Instit.* vol. 24. See also others figured by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A. in his *Excavations of Lyme*, p. 24, viz. CL. BR., which have reference to the British Fleet, viz. *Classarii Britannici*, "British Classarii, or Marines."

and twentieth legions; the latter, being a division of the force which came over with Claudius, was eventually stationed at Chester, and permanently settled in Britain. The greater number of these monuments have been illustrated by Mr. Smith, and are fully described both in his *Collectanea Antiqua* and in the *Illustrations of Roman London*. The annexed woodcut, kindly lent by Messrs. Nichols and Sons, represents one in connection with the twentieth legion. It was described by my late father in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1842. He discovered the stone lying by the door of a cottage situate in a field between the Caledonian Road and Maiden Lane, where it was daily used as a stepping-stone by the inhabitants of the cottage. It was therefore evidently not *in situ*, and it is believed to have been brought from the city at some former period with other *débris* for building purposes. Whether this was so, or whether, as thought by himself and the late A. J. Kempe, F.S.A., that it had been found in the vicinity, and served to illustrate the tradition which has always attached to the spot as being the situation of the great battle between Boadicea and Suetonius Paulinus, can alone be determined by future discovery and investigation. The coincidence is at least curious. The locality answers to the position as sketched out by Tacitus,* and a vexillation of the twentieth legion is known to have been engaged.



If from the tile inscriptions we assume the head quarters of the governor to have been at Londinium we may still infer that, like all *municipia* or *prefecturae*, the city possessed an internal jurisdiction of its own, apart from the authority of the superior power. Of this, as we have said, there is full evidence. The present mayoralty, the aldermen, and sheriffs may in their official capacity trace descent from Roman times, and find the prototypes of their various duties in those once exercised by the *prefectus urbis*, the *curiales*, or *decuriones*, &c. of the provinces attached to ancient Rome. The Roman prefect was a regular magistrate. He was the chief guardian of the city; he regulated its laws as to markets and trades, superintended all arrangements for the protection of its inhabitants, and as guardian of the peace he kept up an establishment of *milites stationarii*,†

* Tacitus, *Annal.* lib. xiv.

† An interesting paper upon the history of this force was read a short time since by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. at the Society of Antiquaries of London. In it the author endeavoured to show that the *milites stationarii* as instituted by Augustus supplied the germ of the English Hundred and Tithing, those two

the precursors of our modern police. This distinguished officer too was, like our own Lord Mayor, the medium through which the Emperor held communication with the citizens of the capital. In later times his authority, like everything else, became extended in its operation. The term of office was sometimes for several years,* perhaps for life, but after the reign of Valerian a new prefect was appointed every year. Cicero tells us how some *prefecturae* enjoyed the privilege of electing their own magistrates.†

A *prefectura* merely differed from other communities in the original appointment of these functionaries. In early times they were selected in Rome, and sent on to the provincial towns over which they were to preside, but in later days this practice was the exception, and the magistracy was appointed by the communities themselves under certain distinctive titles by which the particular form can be readily recognised. The Curiales or Decuriones as a corporation of Senators met in the "Curia" or "Common Hall" as in the present day, the Decurions like our Aldermen being chosen from the civic body. A Decurion was an important personage, he could be elected to the office of Duumvir or chief magistrate, and was generally an individual of wealth and social position. His functions in the municipality to which he belonged were similar to those discharged by the Senators at Rome. While an honourable post, it was not at all times an enviable one. It was laborious and costly to the individual. He received no salary; if he refused to serve he was heavily fined, and the duties of his office, rendered compulsory by the rigid terms of the Imperial laws, were of a multifarious and often—especially in assessing the public taxes—of an unpleasant and objectionable kind. That the office was one which existed in the corporations of Roman Britain is proved by sufficient evidence. The Rev. H. M. Searth, M.A. records the discovery at Bath of a funeral monument to a Decurion of Glevum. The inscription reads DEC . COLONIAE . GLEV . VIXIT . AN . LXXXVI . It has been described by numerous authors and was said to have been found built into the city wall, but is now lost. This venerable Alderman, who had

territorial institutions which up to the reign of William IV. supplied the police of the country. See *Proc. Soc. of Antiq. of London*, vol. v. No. 6, p. 365.

* Our mayoralty under such a designation appears to have been first inaugurated in the year 1190, when Henry Fitz-Alwin was elected to the office. He continued mayor for twenty-four successive years. In 1592 it was decreed that no man should be Lord Mayor of London for more than one year. This, with some few exceptions, has been the rule adopted up to the present time. The late Mrs. Mathew Hall was occupied for many years in collecting material for a Biographical History of Lord Mayors. She used to say that she had discovered satisfactory evidence of the existence of the title prior to the days of Fitz-Alwin.

† Cicero, *De Leg. Agr.* 2, c. 31.

attained to the ripe age of eighty-six, had probably sojourned at Bath for the purpose of testing the benefit of its medicinal waters.

Among discoveries made many years ago at York was a sepulchral monument which had undoubted reference to a municipal officer. It has been described in various terms by Camden, Horsley, and Dr. Gale, and some of the facts connected with its discovery have at times been questioned. It, however, bore an inscription which is of considerable interest:—

M VEREC DIOGENES IIIHIVIR COL
EBOR IBIDEMQ MORT CIVIS BITVRIX
CVBVS HAEC SIBI VIVVS FECIT

“ Marcus Verecundus Diogenes, Sevir of the Colonia of Eboracum, and who died there, a citizen of Biturix Cubus, caused these to be made for him during his lifetime.” In this inscription the title Sevir is the important feature; its meaning has been discussed by various antiquarian writers; by some it has been viewed as referring to a sacred office, and by others to one of a magisterial kind. Another view taken, and which is probably the most correct, is that of Reinesius, that it combined the two. *Sevir Augustalis* is the usual form as met with in inscriptions. The Augustales in *Municipia* formed a middle class in the community; they exercised certain functions with respect to the worship of Augustus with other duties of a public character. They formed a college, the heads of which were styled *Seviri*, and who were appointed by the Decurions. They were generally individuals of wealth and distinction, as the duties attendant on their position often involved considerable expense. In rank they stood next to the Decurions, whom they separated from the plebs, and, as the provincial Equites, were analogous to the equestrian order at Rome. From an inscription to be found in Gruter (page 49, fig. 2) we gather that both the title of Sevir and that of Decurion could be enjoyed by the same individual. Such a position might be readily illustrated from the constitution of our own corporation.

It has been stated that it was this monument which first led our historians to bestow the dignified title of Colonia upon Eboracum, and that both this and the municipal interpretation of the foregoing inscription required confirmation. This may probably be found in the important discoveries now progressing at York. Within the last few weeks a Roman cemetery has been revealed, and among the objects found is a sarcophagus, upon which is an inscription the details of which are not yet determined, but which Mr. C. Wakefield, of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, informs me is to “a Decurion of the Colonia of Eboracum.” There is thus conclusive evidence that York possessed a municipality in

Roman times, and in which it is probable the two individuals referred to enjoyed official distinction.

Exeter also is another example of how the municipal institutions of Rome outlived the Saxon administration and descended to later times. Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A.,* remarks, on the authority of William of Malmesbury, "that down to the reign of Athelstan Exeter was inhabited by English and Welsh, who lived on an equality of rights (*æquo jure*), which they could only have done by virtue of an original composition with the Saxon Conquerors." Chester may also be cited as an illustration, Winchester, Lincoln, and other places.

Towards the close of the Empire and at the time of the compilation of the *Notitia Imperii*, Britain was divided into five political divisions, each under a distinct presidency, but all subject to the supreme authority of a *vicarius*, a similar official to the *prætor* of earlier times. This governor was responsible to head quarters in Gaul. That a similar regime extended through the Anglo-Saxon period can be fully shown. In the Introduction to the History of the Leathersellers' Company, by the late W. H. Black, F.S.A., the author refers to the government of the metropolis in the tenth century, and quotes from an appendix to the laws of Athelstan, known as the "*Judicia Civitatis Londonie*," preserved in the ancient records at Rochester Cathedral, and which refers to the "bishops and the gereves that to London borough belong." Here the gerefa or reve is mentioned as the civil governor, and the record further shows how analogous were his duties to those of the Roman prefect. Mr. Black further quotes the well-known document commonly called the Charter of King William, the first Norman king, which is one of the two original writs of that king that are preserved in the archives of the city not having any of the solemn forms of a charter in style or shape, such as we find in his Latin charters to Westminster and Battle Abbeys and to the church of St. Martin-le-Grand. This document translated reads: "I King William greet William the Bishop and Gosfreght the Port Reeve and all the *Borough Ward* with London French and English friendly." The names of other contemporary bishops and portreeves of London in the time of King Edward the Confessor have also been preserved: Wolfgar, with Bishop Alfwar and Swerman, with the Bishop William above-mentioned, who held the see of London from 1051 to 1075. Long before these persons there was the King's *wic gerefa* in *Lundenwic*, as mentioned in the laws of two Kentish kings of the seventh century,† and the port gerefa was required to witness mercantile transactions within the port or city by the laws of King Edward the Elder.‡

* Celt, Roman and Saxon, p. 440.

† Between 675 and 685.

‡ A.D. 901—924, Lambard, 1568, ff. 46 and 47.

Hence it cannot be doubted that there was a succession of persons holding the office of portreeve of London before the Norman Conquest, and the constant use of *refa*, or with the emphatic prefix *gerefa*, in the Anglo-Saxon laws, in the sense of chief officer of a city, town, or port, as equivalent to the Latin *prefectus*, proves that the word is not originally Teutonic, but is as much an abridgement of the Roman title *prefectus* as is the equivalent French word *préfet* at the present time."

The division of London into wards is probably coeval with the foundation of the city itself, and by a proper application of their boundaries we may hope to find the true configuration of the early Roman settlement. When these several divisions first became designated as wards is uncertain, but their position, their limits, and in some cases distinctive peculiarities, are sufficient evidence of remote antiquity; added to the circumstance that Rome itself was partitioned into similar regions, few in number at first, but afterwards increasing in importance and extent, according to the growth and development of the city. Fitzstephen, writing of London in the reign of Henry III. speaks of "*regionibus est distincta*," and there is yet earlier testimony as regards York, which is the only other city in the country which ever shared with our own the honour of being the representative seat of the imperial government. In Roman times it probably comprised four regions or districts corresponding with the gates of the city, but in Domesday Survey* we read that in the reign of King Edward the Confessor, York was divided into six shires besides that of the archbishop, and contained about eighteen hundred houses. It afterwards reverted to four wards, but within the present century has again been partitioned into six. Such early divisions perfectly accord with the rules laid down by Vitruvius as to the distribution of the streets; the main thoroughfares were planned in accordance with the points of the compass and the direction of the winds. There would thus be four parts, but sometimes other ways would start from the common centre in an oblique direction, in which case there would be eight regions to the city. That there could be no arbitrary observance of this plan is at once apparent, but it sufficiently shows the probable origin of our ward divisions. Their number would naturally be governed by the size of the city, and be at the same time materially influenced by the natural configuration of the site and a variety of other circumstances; but it may be seen that the number as appropriated to the earliest dimensions of Romano-British towns was always small. Canterbury, for example, was for many ages divided into the wards of Westgate, Newingate, Northgate, Worthgate, Bingate, and Ridigate; but by a recent Act of Parliament Westgate, Dane

* Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*, p. 509, vol. iii.

John, and Northgate are its three divisions. This Act, entitled the Municipal Reform Act, though virtually restoring many institutions which existed prior to the Norman Conquest, naturally altered in many respects the constitution of our old cities; but an investigation of their history prior to its operation confirms the correctness of these conclusions, and but affords another illustration of the very uniform plan upon which the Romans worked in all that is connected with their occupation of this country, and it needs but fuller acquaintance with the simple adaptation of parallel lines which guided their surveyors to bring more clearly before our minds the early aspect of the majority of the ancient towns of Britain.*

Of the original position and extent of Roman London a great deal of speculative opinion has been recorded. Various localities have been assigned to its first settlement. While some have placed it on the south side of the river, others locate it on the rising ground east of Walbrook, and a third view, that of the late W. H. Black, F.S.A., would associate it with the space between the western bank of this watercourse and the river Fleet. It is true that at all these places there are abundant illustrations of Romano-British occupation, but the confusion which has arisen with respect to the varying descriptions is from their serving to illustrate, not the London of the first century of its existence,

* In Bath the early city had four gates, which faced the cardinal points. The mediæval walls were built upon the Roman ones, and followed their course. The area inclosed, writes Mr. Searth, was about 500 yards east and west by 380 yards north and south, and the direction of the city wall appears to have been influenced by the nature of the ground. "The river Avon protected the city on two sides, and the walls were adapted to the bend of the river;" see *Aquæ Solis*, page 7. In this city, unrivalled for its Roman remains, we observe how its municipal institutions have survived the Anglo-Saxon changes, and exist to the present day. Documents connected with its history at this period are preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and many of them are quoted by the Rev. Mr. Earle, M.A., in his admirable little work "Bath Ancient and Modern." The earliest is attributed to Osric, Nov. 6, A.D. 676, and, with many others of subsequent date, refer to grants of land for religious purposes; but under the years 965—975 we read "This is the will (in Saxon) of the Ealdorman Ælfheah," wherein, among other bequests, he gives fifteen hides at Suthtowne unto Bathan—Cod. Dip. dxciii. In the Saxon Chronicle it is recorded that the Danish King Sweyne took possession of Bath in 1013, and that Alderman Ethelmar and all the Western Thanes submitted to him there, and gave him hostages. We may also here quote from the observations of H. C. Coote, F.S.A., "That when the Anglo-Saxon conquered England he assigned the territory of each great city to his own Germanic officer the ealdorman: the territory thus became the shire, and the pagi of the territory the hundred of that shire;" and again, "The shire was divided into hundreds, that is, the open and unwall'd country received a distribution by which villages or townships were arranged into circles of greater or less extent; over each hundred presided an ealdor, under whose presidency the hundred had a legal and social action." See *Neglected Fact in English History*, by H. C. Coote, F.S.A., a valuable little book, abounding in information of a novel and important character.

but rather its condition at the close of the imperial rule. Throughout all that has been done it does not appear that sufficient attention has ever been paid to any retrospective view of our own civic history, which after all must be of supreme importance to the inquiry. This principle has at least the great advantage of simplicity and as affording fewer opportunities for mere speculative imagination, which has too often originated theories which should more properly be deduced from actual facts which exist, combined with the results of personal observation. The most ancient of the City wards, which are few in number, should indicate the oldest portion of the city. This is practically found to be the case. Around them we trace the tessellated pavements and other evidences of suburban homes, also coins of the late periods in Roman history, with evidences also of extra-mural sepulture in places which succeeding generations found it necessary to appropriate, and thus localities religiously regarded at one period had to be utilised as necessity required, and an ever-growing city was the result. Precisely similar conditions must govern the arrangements of the present day. It was the opinion of Dean Gale, Mr. Salmon, and others, that the first city existed on the south side of the Thames. This was based upon a misunderstood passage in Ptolemy and on discoveries made at St. George's Fields,* numerous remains having been found at this spot. Near St. Thomas's Hospital in 1820 tessellated pavements† and other objects were exhumed; so also when making the approaches

* Ptolemy, in reference to the tribes who inhabited the South part of Britain, viz. the Demetæ, Silures, Dobuni, and Atrebatii, says, "After these the most eastern, the Cantii (*Καντιοί*, among whom are the cities *Λονδίμιον*, *Δαρονέων*, Dareum, *Ροντουκαί*, otherwise London, Canterbury, Sandwich, and Richborough):—

"In his campis, quos Sancti Georgii plebs vocat, multa Romanorum numismata, opera tessellata, lateres, fossoribus, qui non procul ab hoc burgo (Southwark) ad austrum multos alios eruerunt."—Gale's *Com. Anton. Iter*, p. 65.

† A tessellated pavement (not to mention other recorded instances) was discovered in July 1819 on taking up the foundation of some old houses belonging to St. Thomas's Hospital in St. Thomas Street, and in July 1820, about one hundred yards to the north-west, in the area or court in front of St. Saviour's Grammar School, and at the depth of some seven or eight feet below the present level. Another of a more elaborate design, as appeared from the guilloche border, was also found, and probably more of it still remains there, as the acting governor would not permit a further investigation to be made. As many as forty or fifty Roman lamps, a vase, and other sepulchral deposits were found near the entrance of King Street at a depth of fifteen or sixteen feet. In short, along the whole line of excavation or tunnelling carried through Blackman Street and Snobs Fields in December 1818 and January 1819 for the new line of sewer there projected, and, subsequently for the same purpose, through Union Street in December 1823, numerous Roman antiquities were discovered, and there are others turned up on almost every occasion of excavation of the soil. Many have more recently been met with as far southward as

of the railways at London Bridge. There were also traces of a cemetery in Dover Road, and in more recent days, viz. when constructing the new street from London Bridge to Blackfriars, large quantities of relics were discovered. Towards the river were evident remains of buildings with quantities of wooden piling, indicating the wet, boggy nature of a soil which at this spot was peculiarly unfavourable for anything like extensive occupation. In the course of numerous visits to the works the writer observed that the objects found were not *in situ* but had evidently been brought there, at the period may be of the Great Fire of 1666, when vast quantities of earth and rubbish were used for filling in. The depth at which they were first seen was as near to the surface as six or seven feet, and from that level to a depth of upwards of 26 feet they continued to appear. The coins also were of a late date. These remains therefore are not necessarily indications of Roman Southwark, but it is probable there was always a way for communication across the river at no very great distance from the line of London Bridge, and in connection with the main road to Kent; therefore a subsequent extension of Roman London into Southwark can be easily understood; but that its first settlement was fixed upon the southern bank of the river is not borne out by any discoveries which have been made.

The situation of London Bridge has varied at different periods. It is tolerably clear that the most ancient bridge of which we have any record was further eastward than the present one, viz. towards Botolph Wharf at Billingsgate, which was doubtless the Roman harbour or landing-place. The immense quantities of piling discovered some thirty years since at this spot was evidence of this as well as the existence of historic testimony to the circumstance of the head of the first bridge being at St. Botolph's Wharf. The first stone bridge

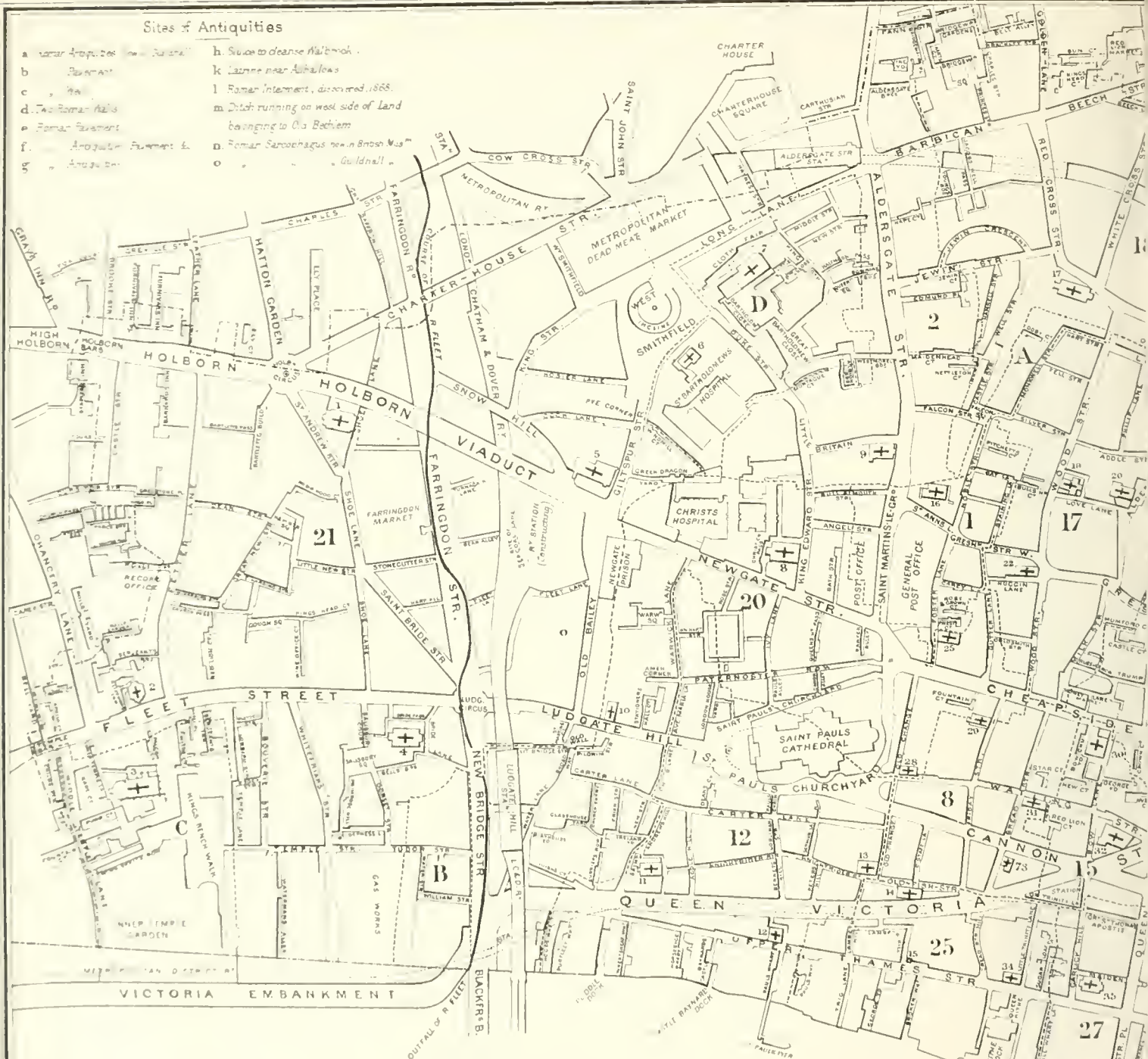
Trinity Square, where also was found a fine specimen of that rare coin Gordianus Africanus, now in the cabinet of Miss Adel Gwilt. Latterly Deverell Street, southward of the Dover Road, has produced some fine examples, &c. See *Etymology of Southwark* by Ralph Lindsay, F.S.A. 1839.

In the museum of the late E. B. Price, F.S.A. were numerous antiquities from Southwark. Of some he has left sketches. Of Kent Street in the Borough he notes in his Diary in the year 1847, "That skulls and human bones were found at the Roman level (16 feet deep), one urn broken, but which had contained burnt bones." The place of sepulture was in the centre of the road, at no great distance from the entrance to Napier Street, which runs into the Dover Road, on the other side of which is Deverell Street, where Mr. Kempe's discoveries were made, and which are recorded in the *Archæologia*.

Maitland writes: "But if we could credit the traditionary account of the origin of the ancient wooden bridge of London as delivered by Bartholomew Linsted, alias Fowle, the last Prior of St. Mary Overy's convent in Southwark, we are indebted to the public spirit of a convent of religion for the changing of the terry formerly at this place into a wooden bridge."—See *History of London*, vol. i. p. 44.

Sites of Antiquities

- a Roman Amphitheatre near St. Dunstons
- b Roman Amphitheatre
- c Roman Amphitheatre
- d Roman Amphitheatre
- e Roman Amphitheatre
- f Roman Amphitheatre
- g Roman Amphitheatre
- h Roman Amphitheatre
- k Roman Amphitheatre
- l Roman Amphitheatre
- m Roman Amphitheatre
- n Roman Amphitheatre
- o Roman Amphitheatre



City Churches.

- | | | | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. St. Andrew's | 13. St. Mary Magdalen | 25. St. Andrew's | 37. St. Mary Magdalen | 49. St. Michael Cornhill | 61. St. John on Walbrook (site) |
| 2. St. Dunstons | 14. St. Mary's | 26. St. Dunstons | 38. Dutch Church | 50. St. Peter's | 62. Allhallows the Great |
| 3. St. Mary's | 15. St. Mary's | 27. St. Dunstons | 39. St. Peter's | 51. St. Edmund | 63. St. Magnus |
| 4. St. Peter's | 16. St. Ann's | 28. St. Dunstons | 40. Allhallows Lombard | 52. Allhallows Lombard | 64. St. Botolph |
| 5. St. Paul's | 17. St. James's | 29. St. Dunstons | 41. St. Botolph | 53. St. Dunstons | 65. St. Mary at Hill |
| 6. St. Andrew's | 18. St. Andrew's | 30. St. Dunstons | 42. St. Martin's | 54. St. Mary Woolchurch | 66. St. Margaret Patten |
| 7. St. Dunstons | 19. St. Andrew's | 31. St. Dunstons | 43. St. Helen | 55. St. Stephen | 67. St. Dunstan in the East |
| 8. St. Andrew's | 20. St. Andrew's | 32. St. Dunstons | 44. St. Andrew | 56. St. Stephen | 68. Allhallows Staining |
| 9. St. Dunstons | 21. St. Andrew's | 33. St. Dunstons | 45. St. Andrew | 57. St. Mary Woolchurch | 69. St. Katharine Coleman |
| 10. St. Dunstons | 22. St. Andrew's | 34. St. Dunstons | 46. St. Andrew | 58. St. Mary Abchurch | 70. Allhallows Barking |
| 11. St. Dunstons | 23. St. Andrew's | 35. St. Dunstons | 47. St. Andrew | 59. St. Clement | 71. St. Olave Bar Street |
| 12. St. Dunstons | 24. St. Andrew's | 36. St. Dunstons | 48. St. Andrew | 60. St. Peter | 72. St. Martin in the Field |
| | | | | | 73. St. Mildred Broad Street |

THE NATIONAL DATA DEPOSIT (1) PREMIERS ARE SHOWN THIS



WARDS.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Aldersgate within | 15. Cordwainer. |
| 2. " without | 16. Cornhill. |
| 3. Aldgate | 17. Cripplegate w ^d |
| 4. Bassishaw. | 18. " with ^d |
| 5. Billingsgate | 19. Dowgate. |
| 6. Bishopsgate within | 20. Farringdon w ^d |
| 7. " without | 21. " with ^d |
| 8. Bread Street. | 22. Langbourn. |
| 9. Bridge | 23. Lime Street. |
| 10. Broad Street. | 24. Portsoken. |
| 11. Candlewick. | 25. Queenhithe. |
| 12. Castle Baynard | 26. Tower. |
| 13. Cheap. | 27. Vintry. |
| 14. Coleman Street. | 28. Walbrook. |

PRECINCTS.

A. Monkwell. B Bridewell

LIBERTIES.

C. Temple

D. St Bartholomew the Great & Less.

E. Dukes Place.

The coloured portion indicates the assumed position of the first Roman City

DETAILS CONNECTED WITH THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

A., AND JOHN E. PRICE, F.S.A.

over the river, finished in 1209, was erected so much westward of the former as to require a new direction to be given to the highway, or perhaps rather a new street to be constructed constituting the modern Fish Street Hill and Gracechurch Street. This new line appears to be referred to in a manuscript record of the quit-rents of London Bridge under the name of the "King's Road, called Brigge Street," and it is also called London Bridge Street in a record cited by Madox of the 52nd year of Henry III. 1268. The same causes led to a similar result in the last rebuilding of London Bridge, and a third line still more to the west has been obtained.*

It was the opinion of Mr. Roach Smith, who has devoted so much energy and ability to the illustration of this subject, that old London Bridge marked the centre of the first settlement, and that the top of Fish Street Hill, at its junction with Gracechurch Street, Eastcheap, and Cannon Street, may have been that centre. "There is greater difficulty," he writes,† "in fixing the limits, and, without the assistance of remains and of any historical notices such as can be relied upon as bearing upon the question, every attempt must be wholly speculative. I should be inclined to place the northern wall somewhere along the course of Cornhill and Leadenhall Street, the eastern in the direction of Billiter Street and Mark Lane, the southern in the line of Upper and Lower Thames Street, and the western on the eastern side of Walbrook." In these observations Mr. Smith agrees with the late Mr. Arthur Taylor in fixing the eastern bank of the watercourse as the western boundary of the City, though the assumed plan laid down by the latter in his excellent papers in the *Archæologia* circumscribes still more the earlier limitation, and appropriates a much smaller space than that inclosed by the boundaries above-mentioned. It is probable that the position actually occupied was that still embraced by the ward divisions of the immediate locality, and which are laid down upon the map which accompanies these observations. It was almost an invariable practice with the Roman surveyors to inclose a quadrilateral space, and one more or less square, as circumstances might require. With London this took the form of a parallelogram upon the rising ground east of Walbrook. If we select the wards of Tower, Billingsgate, Bridge, Dowgate, Langbourn, Candlewick, Walbrook, and that portion of Bishopsgate Within

* See the observations prepared by the late Mr. Thomson in the late Sir William Tite's *Catalogue of Antiquities* found on the site of the Royal Exchange 1848, p. xiii.

† See *Illustrations of Roman London*, by C. R. Smith, F.S.A., p. 14.

which at one corner is bounded by St. Michael's church, and may be extended for our purpose to the church of St. Peter on Cornhill, traditionally said to be the most ancient of the City churches, we shall inclose a space of ground twice as long as it is broad, and which possesses highways, parallel streets, and roads, strictly in accordance with Roman practice. It excludes the Tower, which was a detached fort, and the whole of it probably external to the City at this early period. It is said that in later times a portion of this fortress became included within the government of the Corporation, and that the wall ran direct therefrom to Aldgate; but this was not always so. It may be compared in this respect to a similar situation at Chester. At this place, where the Castle is of extreme antiquity, it was without the walls until Saxon times, when Ethelfleda, daughter of King Alfred, enlarged the boundaries of the city by extending its walls upon the south side and including the Castle. From the earliest times it has been a matter of question as to where the Tower liberties actually cease and the City jurisdiction begins.* In the plan we also exclude the Ward of Portsoken, which as implied by its name was the "Region" or "Soke" without the walls, and a portion of the civic liberties similar to that extending on the north to Norton Folgate, or on the west to Temple Bar. These liberties can be identified upon the plan: they form the additions to the original boundaries of the City. That commencing west of the Fleet river runs by the north bank of the Thames to Middle Temple Lane, then north to Temple Bar, and so along Shire Lane and Bell Yard into Chancery Lane by the Liberty of the Rolls, and thence to Holborn Bars. Hence through Brook Street, Furnivall's Inn, Leather Lane, Hatton Garden and West Street, to the Fleet Ditch, whence it turns westward to Cow Cross Street, and then to Smithfield Bars. It afterwards runs between Long Lane and Charterhouse Lane to Goswell Street, whence it extends across Golden Lane, Whitecross Street, and Grub Street, to Moorgate, and along the north side of Moorfields, dividing the City Liberty from the Manor of Finsbury, a great part of which was formerly held by the Corporation by virtue of a lease granted by the Prebendary of Haliwell and Finsbury. The line of separation then runs northward by Norton Folgate, and from thence through Spitalfields and Wentworth Street to Whitechapel. It passes by the Little Minories to Goodman's

* Coke in his *Institutes* writes: "The ancient wall of London extendeth through the Tower; all that part on the west is within the City and parish of All Saints Barking. Therefore, Weston the principal, and Sir Gervas Elweys the accessory, in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, committed in the Tower on the west of the City wall, were tried in the City of London."

Fields, whence it returns westward to the Minories, meeting the wall at the Tower Liberty.* Portsoken Ward, as defined upon the map, lies on the east side of the last-erected wall of the city, and is indeed a part of the great Pomœrium which was attached to the territory of Londinium. The Roman Pomœrium was not necessarily extramural,† it was a space upon either side the wall or boundary reaching to such an extent that the houses would not be joined to it on the inside as they commonly are, but arranged for a space without, free from human occupation. It was a limit consecrated by the augurs, and it was unlawful either to cultivate or inhabit it.‡

That the original city was comprised within the space mentioned is also borne out by the sepulchral deposits which have been discovered. Burial within the walls was forbidden by a stringent law, and within the limits now laid down the writer has been unable to trace the record of a single discovery of funereal remains. This is a circumstance of the highest importance to the correctness of our position, for no similar space within city limits can be selected where such exclusion can be observed. In Cornhill, to the north of Lombard Street, there was a place of sepulture—this was indicated by the observations of Richard Kelsey, Esq. Surveyor to the Commissioners of Sewers; here too adjoins the great gravel-pit on the site of the Royal Exchange, where such rich discoveries were made some five-and-twenty years ago. Both these facts confirm our view as to the northern limit. There are next the tile-tombs found when rebuilding

* See *Vestiges of Old London*, by the late J. W. Archer.

† The Pomœrium within the City served the purpose of allowing a free circulation for the inhabitants and protection for the military in time of war. This intervening space is to be observed in most of our walled towns. At Canterbury it has been noticed by Professor Willis in his admirable paper upon the Monastery of Christchurch. He writes: "In peaceful intervals this passage was apt to be encroached upon by houses or gardens, and in later times portions of such lanes have been appropriated, so as to destroy the continuity of the circuit, which was rendered no longer necessary by the changes in military tactics." He adds, that "in the modern plans of Canterbury this line can be distinguished along the inside of the city wall."—*Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. 7.

‡ See Livy, c. 44; see also Julius Frontinus, Lachman, 17, for the following description of the Pomœrium: "De jure territorii controversia est, cum quidam privatorum, aut pomerium ejus urbis privatis operibus inverecundè vult pervadere, aut cumarare et de locis publicis, hoc est ad ipsam urbem pertinentibus, quidam privatorum usurpare tentaverit. Pomerium autem urbis est, quod ante muros spatium sub certa mensura dimissum est, sed et aliquibus urbibus et intra muros simili modo est statutum propter custodian fundamentorum, quod à privatis operibus obtineri non oportebit. Hoc locus est qui a publico nullo jure poteris amoveri. Habet autem conditiones duas, unam urbani soli alteram agrestis, agrestis soli, quod in tutela rei urbane assignatum est; urbani quod publicis operibus datum est aut destinatum." Aggeni Comment in Front. Rei Agrariæ Auctores—1674, page 57.

Bishopsgate Church, in the year 1726;* the interments at Camomile Street with others near Allhallows Barking, and the well-known† sarcophagus with cinerary urns at Haydon Square, in the Minories. The actual cemeteries which are known to have existed at Spitalfields, Whitechapel, and West Smithfield, &c., need only here be referred to. In Knight's History of London it is recorded that "urns are said to have been found under a tessellated pavement near the Church of St. Dunstan in the East." For this no authority is given, and it may be questioned altogether. Assuming it to be true, it would exclude a portion of the Ward of Tower, which is scarcely possible when we consider the discoveries illustrative of a very early period, made both in Mincing and Mark Lanes,‡ most of which streets are situate in this ward. Mr. Taylor quotes this discovery as defining his limit in this direction, but there is no evidence that the urns had been used for sepulchral purposes, there is no mention of burnt or human bones at all, but simply the pottery associated with the pavement, a circumstance frequent enough, and merely indicating that the urns were a portion of the domestic accessories to the building which had been burnt or destroyed.

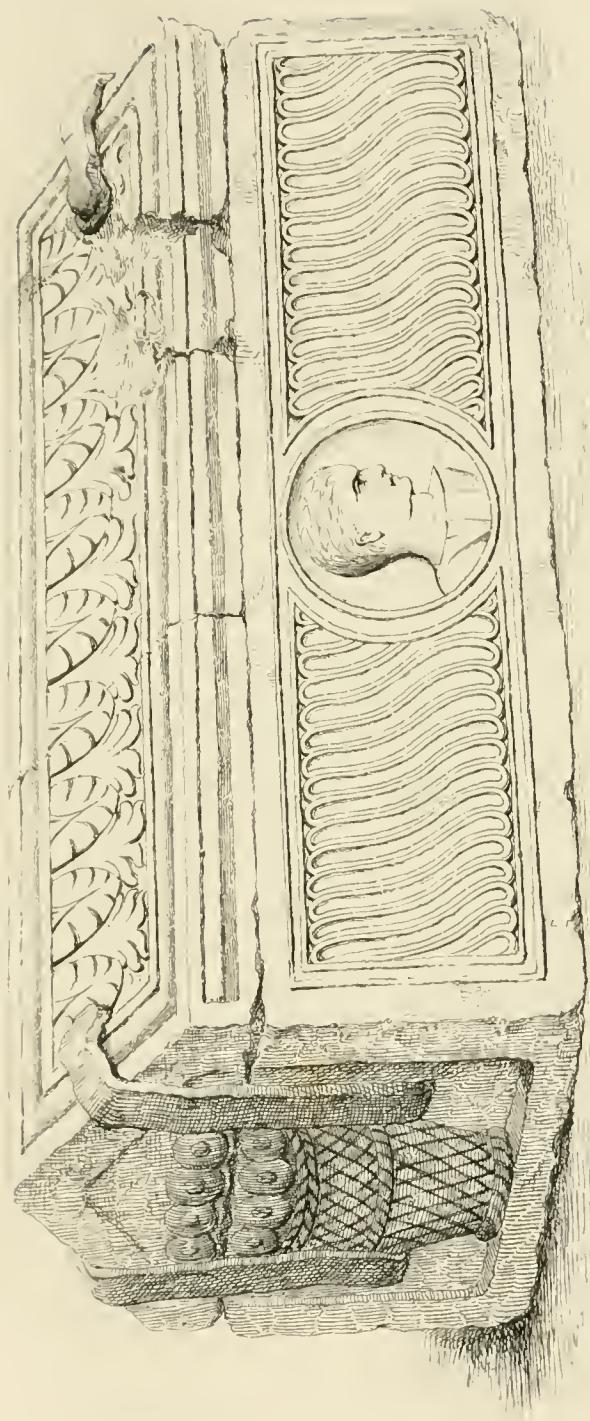
* See Gough's *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 93, edit. 1806.

† Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 45. I am indebted to Mr. Smith for the loan of the illustrative plate.

‡ Charles Baily, F.S.A. exhibited the stone base and capital of a column, also part of a vessel formed of Purbeck stone, most probably a mortar, found in digging the foundations for a building on the west side of Mincing Lane, London. At about twelve feet from the surface the workmen came to small portions of a tessellated pavement, laid in a pattern surrounded with a border formed of coarse red tesserae, each about one inch and a quarter square; beneath this pavement, and mixed with earth, were quantities of rubbish, in which was mixed broken Roman pottery, tiles, and concrete, to the extent of about two feet in depth. At this level there was a floor, formed of fine gravel, lime and powdered tile, of a rich red colour; this was lying on the natural gravel. Between the two floors the fragments Nos. 1, 2, and 3 on Plate xxxv. were found.

This discovery appears to be more worthy of notice, because it proves the existence of Roman remains of two distinct periods. The lower floor of concrete must have belonged to a building destroyed before that of which the tessellated pavement formed a part could have been erected; and, although in many instances fragments of Roman works have been discovered in connection with remains to which they could not have belonged, yet such strong evidence of Roman buildings of two periods do not appear to have been before noticed in London.—*Journ. Brit. Arch. Association*, vol. vi. p. 112.

An ancient depository, of the nature of a granary, appears to have been found in Mark Lane, about the year 1675, at the depth of 28 feet from the pavement, when there were dug up many quarters of wheat, burnt very black, but yet sound, which were conjectured to have lain buried ever since the burning of this city about 800 years before,—vide a *Letter relating to the Antiquities of London*, by J. Bagford, Feb. 1, 1711-15—Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. i. p. 71.



ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS
LONDON

On the other hand it is known that the church of Allhallows Barking is of remote foundation, and believed to mark the site of an ancient cemetery, but there is but little evidence of this. If, as suggested by Mr. Taylor, the line connecting the two wards of Tower and Billingsgate indicates the eastern limit, discoveries prove that the former ward had been added at a very early period. This addition may have been gradual; the parochial boundary of St. Dunstan's in the East forms a central position in the ward, and, as parish boundaries* may many of them be considered as of Roman date, it may indicate extension, completed ultimately by the eastern portion, now represented by the parish of Allhallows Barking.

The antiquity of parochial limits may be classed with that of the wards, their boundaries having probably been guided in remote times by the same principles which were adopted by the Romans in all their appropriations of land. In our map we have laid down the positions of the numerous city churches. Some have been removed, and there are others about to follow, it is therefore important that every attention should be given to these sites where opportunities occur, for it is impossible to say how many of these familiar buildings may really mark the sites of pagan temples. Some of them may illustrate the practice of the Roman land-owners of erecting temples on the confines where the possessions of three or four of them met.† The entrances of such a building, we are told, would sometimes correspond with the number of the owners on whose possessions it was erected. These temples also were at times endowed with grants of land, which were appropriated to the support both of the edifice and its priests. There were legal provisions for this. It is quite possible, therefore, for some of these buildings to have been standing in Saxon times, and become the forerunners of our parish churches, so frequently do we find the latter resting upon foundations of evident Roman work.

Assuming with Mr. Roach Smith that Old London Bridge marked the centre of Londinium, it is not impossible to determine the course of the road, connecting this highway with the line to Norton Folgate, which must have passed through the Ward of Bishopsgate. Up to the junction of Lombard Street with Fenchurch Street and Gracechurch Street the data are insufficient, but at this point

* Spelman, *Concilia*, fol. 1639, page 152, places these institutions as early as the seventh century, viz., about the year 673, but it is probable that they date from still earlier times, and that the limits assigned were governed by the previous disposition of property.

† *Julius Frontinus*, page 57; *Dolabella*, p. 302, Lachman's edit.; see also *Aggeni Urbici Comment. in Front.* Amsterdam, 1674.

we are on surer ground. St. Benet's Church stood, as do so many of the City churches, upon the site of Roman buildings. When pulled down a few years since numerous walls, tiles, and other objects were discovered with fine fragments of Roman glass. The existence of important buildings here had been indicated some thirty years ago, and led to the opinion that the present Gracechurch Street was not one of the old highways. More recent investigations have, however, shown that it probably does represent one of the great roads through the City; and careful examination has now proved that no structural remains of the Roman period can have occurred throughout its course; on either side of the street *débris* of buildings have been seen with fragments of tessellated pavements and other traces of early dwellings, but nothing has existed along the actual line of road. In 1872, a new sewer was constructed at a great depth for the Great Eastern Railway Company, extending from Norton Folgate to the corner of Gracechurch Street, and Mr. Frank Burt, who superintended the works, paid every attention that could be given to the preservation of antiquities; nothing was however seen, either while sinking the fifteen necessary shafts or forming the connecting tunnels between them. He has kindly favoured the writer with a complete section to scale of the line traversed, and this conclusively shows the undisturbed character of the soil. It indicates at a glance the varying depths from the surface level to the solid London clay. The greatest depth of made earth occurs in the district extending from Eastcheap to Threadneedle Street. This varies from 15 to 26 feet, and rests upon unmoved gravelly soil, but near Leadenhall Street a stratum of loam appears between the two, which extends from this point to Norton Folgate. In this depth of soil, which so strongly shows the extensive filling-in observed in other parts of the City since Roman times, there was a total absence of structural* remains, such as were observed at the south-west corner of Fenchurch Street, and upon either side of the main thoroughfare both east and west. It is here to be observed, that though Gracechurch Street commences at Eastcheap it is the south-west corner referred to which marks the ward boundary of Bishopsgate Street Within. Mr. Burt's

* It can only be such remains *in situ* that are of any great importance in estimating the position of the city. The mere finding of antiquities is but of little assistance and uncertain evidence as to actual occupation. So much rubbish has been removed from one locality to another in the course of centuries that such evidence is but of little value. An illustration of this is mentioned in Hughson's *London*, vol. i. p. 34. Speaking of discoveries at St. Mary's Woolnoth, Lombard Street, the writer says, vast quantities of broken pottery and antiquities were seen, and were taken away with the rubbish to mend the roads about St. George's Field. After the Great Fire of 1666 a similar state of things must frequently have occurred.

investigations alike dispose of the traditional course assigned to the "Langbourne," which is so explicitly described by Stow; indeed, it is doubtful whether such a watercourse ever existed at all as a natural stream, and the account of it as given by him is, to say the least, based on imagination only. He writes: "Langborne Water, so called of the length thereof, was a great stream of water breaking out of the ground in Fenchurch Streete, which ran down with a swift course west through that streete, thwart Grass Street and doune Lombarde Streete to the west ende of St. Mary Woolnothes Church; and then, turning the course south down Sharebourn Lane, so termed of sharing or dividing, it brake into divers rilles or rillets to the river of Thames. Of this bourne that Warde took the name, and is till this day called Langborne Warde. This bourne also is long since stopped up at the heade, and the rest of the course filled up and paved over, so that no signe thereof remaineth more than the names aforesaide."* Our worthy chronicler however is not always to be relied upon: in this case he evidently wrote from tradition and possessed no knowledge from personal observation, or he would never have written so erroneous a description. The levels and condition of the ground altogether extending from Fenchurch Street down Lombard Street to the Mansion House demonstrate at once that no such stream has ever flowed there; so also in speaking of the ward he writes: "The long *bourne* of sweete water on turning south and breaking itself into many small shares, rilles, or streames, left the name of Sharebourn Lane, or Souchborne Lane, *as I have read*, because it ranne south to the river of Thames." This Stow is candid enough to admit as traditional. It is evidently a mistake, for the locality which he has assigned to this watercourse is just one which must have been one of the most densely populated portions of the City. There are few sites at which the evidences of domestic occupation have appeared more plentiful than Lombard Street and its adjacent thoroughfares. At Birchin Lane, Clement's Lane, Nicholas Lane, &c., the relics found have been numerous and of the earliest period in the history of Roman London; therefore, had any such stream existed as the Langbourne some trace of it must have been discovered. It was in forming a new sewer beneath Lombard Street and Birchin Lane, in the year 1785, that the important remains were observed which are described and illustrated in the eight volume of the *Archæologia*. Commencing near Sherbourne Lane, the excavations revealed at the depth of 12 feet a tessellated pavement; the breadth of this from east to west was 20 feet, its length was not discovered, but it was

* Stow's Survey of London, 1598, p. 13.

observed again in subsequent excavations in the year 1840,* when coins of Vespasian, flue-tiles, portions of amphoræ and Samian pottery were also found. Allen, in his History of London,† refers to other walls and pavements which were dug up in proceeding along Lombard Street, together with burnt wood and ashes, with other evidences of an extensive conflagration. In Birchin Lane similar relics were observed, and near to Nicholas Lane he records, in addition, the finding of large quantities of Roman coins ranging from the time of Claudius to Tetricus. In Clement's Lane remains of buildings are plentiful, and as recently as the year 1865 several perfect *amphoræ* were discovered at a considerable depth, and evidently *in situ*. Most of these objects appeared at levels varying from nine to twelve feet from the surface, but memorials of the Higher Empire were found still deeper.

In excavating for the new premises now being erected by Messrs. Allen, Hanbury, and Co. of Plough Court, Lombard Street, numerous indications of Roman buildings have been found, portions of walls *in situ*, composed of tile and rag-stone, with various relics of a domestic character. Among them are fine specimens of Samian ware, which have been preserved by Mr. F. J. Hanbury, F.L.S. They comprise elegant varieties of the embossed or figured kind, and other fragments upon which are inscribed the following potters' names:—

BELINICCI . M.	OF . NVRRAN.	PRIVS.
DAGOMARVS.	OF . AQVITNI.	PATERCLUS.
IVENIS . F.	OF . PVDEN.	SILVI . OF.
LOGIENI.	OF . MODE.	
NVRRAN.	OF . PRIM.	

We have already mentioned the remains beneath the church of St. Mary Woolnoth; these also adjoined a pavement, and were found about the year 1730, when digging the foundations of the church. It is probable, therefore, that if any watercourse existed of sufficient importance ever to originate the name of Langbourne, it could have been but little better than a ditch, or perhaps an artificial trench or channel, which, receiving the drainage of the immediate locality, fell into the Walbrook near to the present site of the Mansion House. At the south-east corner of the present excavations the works were hindered by the presence, at a considerable depth, of large quantities of water, and there is no doubt from the circumstance of the Mansion House having to be erected upon

* MS. Diary of the late E. B. Price, F.S.A.

† Vol. i. p. 26.

wooden planks and piles,* that this particular portion of the eastern bank of the brook abounded in springs and was of a wet and boggy character. The vast quantities of wooden piling which have been removed from a depth in some places of upwards of thirty feet has indicated the direction of this bank, and at the same time forcibly illustrated the unstable character of the soil.

Stukeley considered the Mansion House to have been built upon a ditch, and evidently based his opinion upon the nature of the ground. This particular portion of the brook must have been an important situation in Roman days, and it is probable that the stream was here of some considerable width, increased, may be, by tributaries, which, flowing from the opposite portion of the city, found an exit on the western bank. It formed as we have said a natural boundary to the first city, and this opinion now receives important corroboration from the results of the late excavations. The discovery of a liminary monument has been already briefly referred to. The finding of this was as unexpected as it is interesting, and the facts which are to be derived from its consideration afford valuable testimony to conclusions, which, in the absence of actual illustration, have hitherto been based upon the comparison of certain passages which exist in obscure but authentic writers of antiquity.

At the north-east corner of the works, and parallel with Charlotte Row, there was discovered at a depth of about thirty feet from the surface-level a wooden framework, three feet square: it was of oak, and as it lay *in situ* had the appearance of a wooden box or tank. The four sides were of uniform width, viz., eight inches, and the timber of which they were formed one and a-half inch thick. It was beneath much of the old wooden piling which at this spot appeared in profusion, and marks the very uncertain width of the old watercourse, also below the made earth and *débris* of Roman times, and it had clearly been placed upon the natural soil as a lasting memorial, and with some special intention as to its significance.

Upon examination of the clay within the frame, for the purpose of ascertaining if there was any bottom to the structure, we observed that the soil had been "puddled" in, and differed from the undisturbed clay outside. This we considered to indicate something below, and therefore bestowed especial care on the

* March 21, 1738. A sub-committee had viewed the ground, and reported that "there will be a necessity for piling and planking the greatest part thereof, to lay the foundations upon." Jour. 58, fo. 1256. This work was so considerable as to cause "a combination amongst workmen to raise the price of piling and planking." Jour. lviii. fo. 133. See *Archæologia*, xxxiii. p. 110.

removal of the contents: the puddling extended to a depth of two feet, and below this appeared a deposit of pottery, in fragments of almost every conceivable description of ware that the Romans are known to have fabricated. These specimens are all preserved, and they illustrate the light-brown earthenware, the black, the grey, and other varieties of that particular class of pottery designated as the Upchurch-ware, pieces of the Durobrivian or Castor Pottery, red tiles, portions of *amphoræ*, and, in order to identify with certainty the Roman character of the deposit, there was one small fragment of highly-glazed Samian ware. With all this there appeared a single specimen of an oyster-shell. Nothing else was found, simply a small collection of selected objects buried in a place of security, and beneath two or three feet of London clay, their position being marked by the protecting framework. An amount of labour had been expended over this deposit of potsherds which can only be explained by the existence at the time of some particular rule or custom for which reverence had been felt by those who had buried them.

At a distance of about five feet south-west of the deposit there was discovered a perfect *amphora* of globular form. This is figured in Plate 4; it is twenty inches in diameter, and has upon one of the handles, in stamped letters, the name CVAVIS. This vessel had been likewise embedded to a depth in the clay of three feet, and therefore was in no accidental position. It evidently formed part of one and the same intention, whatever that may have been.

The finding of such remains would not some years ago have excited much attention, and it is probable that the frame would have been broken up and destroyed without even a record of its existence being preserved. The actual relics might have enriched the cabinets of collectors; but even this is doubtful, their unattractiveness, and the absence of anything of intrinsic value to ensure the attention of the finder, would have led to all being removed as rubbish, and certainly the value of any record of the relics as a structural deposit would have been unsuspected and eventually lost sight of.

The remains are evidently those of an *arca finalis*, a monument employed by the Roman surveyors to indicate the situation of limits, either as connected with public or private property. Such *arcæ* were of various kinds and contained objects differing in character, but each form possessing a certain significance with respect to terminal boundaries. They must have abounded in this country, and there probably exist in antiquarian works records of many which have still to be identified; there are doubtless others yet to be excavated, and it is therefore to the future that we must look for the knowledge eventually

to be gained from their study and investigation. Hitherto they have been passed over and neglected by English antiquaries, though receiving attention from our brethren on the continent.* They belong to a numerous but obscure class of monuments the existence and importance of which cannot be overlooked, and it is only by a careful study of the writings of the agrimensors, aided by cautious comparison, that we shall be able to ascertain the full depth and meaning of their significance. The *area* was one only of a series of signs by which the Roman surveyor left evidence of his profession. It was a structure intended to mark the precise situation at which a junction occurred between three or four portions of land, viz., at *trifinia* or *quadrifinia*. It was to be more or less buried; was to be a walled structure and to contain certain specified objects. As described in the texts, it was usually formed of tiles or stone, but the material would in no way affect its significance. Certain regions† would enjoy different customs; therefore much would depend on the taste and fancy of the surveyor. The examples found in this country have as yet been principally formed of timber or sometimes simple excavations in the earth, lined with stones or otherwise protected, but always containing typical contents.‡ Such symbols were often broken potsherds, pieces of metal, glass, lime, shells, bones, and sometimes coins. Perfect vessels might also be selected, and it is expressly laid down that the discovery of any such objects would illustrate the proximity of a boundary.

Among other descriptions of termini we learn that in private assignments the proprietors selected of their own free choice the limitary mark, some adopted trees or shrubs, or availed themselves of the positions of woods, ditches or streams, a wooden stake, small heaps of stones, and in fact usually appropriating objects most readily to hand; sometimes at angles, more than one terminus would be placed, one for the satisfaction of each possessor. Sepulchres also were sometimes final: they might mark the resting place of the owner, and at the same

* Vide Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France, p. 179-181. A paper by M. Devais, in which the author refers to discoveries at Montbartier, which indicate that the practices of the Agrimensors were still in full vigour in France as late as the seventh century.

† See Lachman's *Gromatici Veteres*, pp. 227-228, and numerous other references; also 312-313.

‡ Ergo ut superius legitur, unaquæque regionem habet conditionem. Lachman, p. 348-9. Si enim sunt certæ leges, consuetudines et observationes semper signum in omnibus finibus positum est aut aliqui cineres, aut carbones, aut testæ, aut ossa, aut vitrum, aut massa ferri, aut aeræ, aut calce, aut gypso, aut vasa fictilia inveniemus et cum quibusdam saxorum fragminibus conculeabant atque diligente cura firmabant, ut firmius starent, tale ergo signum inter dormios inter quos fines terminabantur faciebant. "Fragmenta Terminalia, Rei Agrariæ Auctores," p. 148. See also a similar statement in Siculus Flaccus in the same work; also in Lachman's edition, p. 140.

time define the limit of his property. Certain signs were present if the tomb was to be viewed as a liminary monument.* The presence of fictile vessels either broken or entire were among the illustrative evidence of its intention as a terminus. If these signs were not at first apparent the earth might be examined for a distance of five feet in case they should be buried, and in this circumstance we have an illustration of the position of the perfect *amphora* as connected with the *area* at Walbrook which may be more than a coincidence. Its presence may be but an additional proof of the deposit being a terminal mark, and its contiguity to the timber framing is thus accounted for. In some localities where pools or ditches would indicate natural limits there was a signification of the same by the placing a sepulchre on the bank. It was not however imperative that such distinguishing marks should be placed at boundaries, therefore such might not always be found when looked for, but as a custom the practice was observed. Sometimes, says Siculus Flaccus, nothing would be hidden, or merely such objects as we have already enumerated; and the selection of these varied, as elsewhere remarked, at different times and places. Pottery, bricks, and ridge tiles (*orcas*, *laterculi*, and *imbrices*), were often used and sometimes in connection with the *area*; † *amphoræ* might also be imbedded for the purpose, and occasionally these would be placed in an inverted position, “aut vertex amphoram defixi.” Solid blocks of stone or others cut into certain shapes and at times inscribed with marks or letters had especial significance; trees also that were indigenous being in a suitable position would be suffered to remain. Such would be preserved or others of an unfamiliar species substituted, that the position might appear the more distinct. In this latter can we not trace the intention of some of those ancient trees which still exist in isolated situations and have become as it were the landmarks of history? They are probably descendants of others planted by Roman hands and in common with many old hedges and ditches connected with the early colonisation of our country. In

* See a fragment from a lost work of the agrimensor Dolabella; after stating that all monuments are not final, and that certain indications must be looked for, he writes:—“Fines sepulchrales sive cinerarios sic intelligis, quo vadant rigores inter possessiones, juxta sepulturam sunt buxus, sunt etiam cineres, aut cacabos invenis, aut orcas fractas, aut certe integras. Ut invenias si finalis est sepultura, quæris longe ab ea pedes quinque, aut aratro terram agis, et si inveneris ea signa, finalis est sepultura.”—Lachman, p. 303.

† See Siculus Flaccus. Lachman, p. 131—“Imbricem ante arcem constitutam.” Also in reference to the contents or furniture of the *area*—thus, Sæpe imbrices in finem posuimus sæpe instructuras fecimus. Ibid. 349. Compare, too, a reference at page 345, to the placing of termini in valleys, the authors say, if an imbrex or roofing tile be found in front of an *area*, or a tube tapering to a point, it would denote a stream. The appearance of three tiles would indicate a *trifinium*.

speaking of Anglo-Saxon England Mr. Coote remarks how that in the earliest *diplomata* "it was not only a cultivated but an inclosed country, not only divided by high roads, cross roads, and lanes, but its separate holdings are distinguished by fences, hedgerows, ditches, stones, trees, and posts."* Mounds and hillocks of earth too had a conspicuous position, their elevations and contents possessed a meaning. With the old writers they were termed "botontini," † and there are many yet remaining in this country, though large numbers have been sacrificed. In all future removals it is to be hoped that a record may be preserved of their position, as well as of their apparently uninteresting contents, which might probably be nothing more than a mere deposit of selected objects such as we have described.

For comparison with the *arca* described we may refer to a construction of like character found in London about the year 1835, and the record of which appeared in the twenty-ninth volume of the *Archæologia* by our esteemed friend Mr. Roach Smith. He says,

But the most important discovery in the line of excavation from Lothbury to the Wall was made on the Coleman Street side, near the public-house called the Swan's Nest, where was laid open a pit or well containing a store of earthen vessels of various patterns and capacities. This well had been carefully planked over with thick boards, and at first exhibited no signs of containing anything besides the native gravelly soil, but at a considerable depth other contents were revealed. The vases were placed on their sides longitudinally, and presented the appearance of being regularly packed or embedded in the mud or sand, which had settled so closely round them that a great number were broken or damaged in being extricated; but those preserved entire, or nearly so, are of the same kind as the handles, necks, and pieces of the light-brown coloured vessels met with in such profusion throughout the Roman level in London. Some are of a darker clay approaching to a bluish black, with borders of reticulated work running round the upper part, and one of a singularly elegant form is of a pale-bluish colour with a broad black border at the bottom. Some are without handles, others have either one or two. Their capacity for liquids may be stated as varying from one quart to two gallons, though some that were broken were of much larger dimensions. A small Samian *patera*, with the ivy-leaf border, and a few figured pieces of the same, were found near the bottom of this well, and also a small brass coin of Allectus,

* See Neglected Fact in English History, by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. p. 52.

† In limitibus vero ubi rariores terminos constituimus monticellos plantavimus de terra quos botontinos appellavimus. See Faustus and Valerius. Lachman, p. 308. Some remarkable examples have recently been illustrated and described by Mr. C. Monkman, of Malton, with notes by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. in the *Journal of the Yorkshire Archæological Society*. These contained cruciform platforms, in addition to various selected objects, such as animal bones, pottery, burnt stones, flag slates, bone pins, snail shells, glass, horse shoes, scraps of iron, &c. These mounds were at Helperthorpe, Swinton, and Fimber, and are valuable illustrations of the texts of the *agrimensura* and its application to Britain.

with reverse of the galley, "Virtus Aug." and moreover two iron implements resembling a boat-hook and a bucket-handle; the latter of these carries such a homely and modern look, that had I no further evidence of its history than the mere assurance of the excavators I should have instantly rejected it from suspicion of its having been brought to the spot to be palmed off on the unwary; but the fact of these articles being disinterred in the presence of a trustworthy person in my employ disarms all doubt of their authenticity. The dimensions of the pit or well were about 2 feet 9 inches or 3 feet square, and it was boarded on each side with narrow planks about 2 feet long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 inches thick placed upright, but which framework was discontinued towards the bottom of the pit, which merged from a square into an oval form.

This deposit evidently adjoined the bank of the Walbrook. The "Swan's Nest" public-house still exists, and is situate in Great Swan Alley, Moorgate Street, at the back of Lothbury. The said waterecourse, after leaving Brokers' Row, fell into the town ditch by Allhallows-on-the-Wall, leaving it at the top of Little Bell Alley, out of which Swan Alley runs. It then took a sharp turn in its direction by St. Margaret's Lothbury, where it crossed what is now Princes Street, and pursued its course beneath Grocers' Hall and St. Mildred's Court; anywhere in the immediate neighbourhood of the "Swan's Nest" must have adjoined the natural boundary marked by the bank of the ancient stream." *

In the foregoing it may be observed that the dimensions of this structure are very similar to those of the timber frame now discovered, and that, though the contents differ, they nevertheless strictly harmonise with the texts of the agrimensors. In both there is the quadrangular shaft, and in both there is the same intentional care in depositing the pottery. In the latter case care for the preservation of the vessels has been evidenced by the presence of the crook and bucket-handle, the woodwork belonging to the latter of which has naturally perished. From the coin of Allectus we gather that it must have been quite at the close of the third century, if not later, that the deposit was made; this also harmonises with our present discovery, and serves to illustrate both. The *area* found at Walbrook contained no coins, but among those found in the *débris* above it none that we have seen are later than the time of Antoninus Pius, whose reign extended from A.D. 138 to 161. The conclusion is therefore that, while this may serve to illustrate the limitation of London at an early period, the other higher up the river-bank—but still defining the natural boundary of the waterecourse—was connected with limits appertaining to property when the City became extended

* See *Roman Remains in London and Middlesex*, by J. E. Price, F.S.A., Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Society, vol. iii.

in that direction. Further, such *area* defined as we have seen the position of *trifinia* or *quadrifinia*, and a singular illustration of this may be seen in the Wallbrook discovery. A reference to our map will show that its position is close to the line of junction between the three wards of Cornhill, Walbrook, and Cheap, and, viewed in this light, a curious confirmation is afforded of the view that the "regions" of the old Roman city are identical with, or at least the precursors of, the ward divisions of our own time. The *area* is sufficiently near to the line of boundary if not actually upon it; it is not necessary for it to appear at the precise spot. We are explicitly told that the presence of such a monument indicates that we are to look for a boundary in the vicinity, and in some places that the symbolical *area* was placed outside the limits. Its preservation also on the eastern bank after the great extension of the City in a westerly direction may be also explained. In the occupation of new territory it was not necessary that all old landmarks should be removed. Hyginus tells us how such boundaries became extended, and refers to the difference between the ancient allotments and the new. He illustrates this by one of the provinces in Campania. In the city of Minturnæ the later limits were beyond the river Liris. In assigning the land on the opposite side of the river, the old termini were left, in order that record of the limit should be preserved.*

The presence of these two monuments on the line of Wallbrook leads to the inference that we may look for other relics of like character and intention at other places along the line of the embankment; at present however these appear to be the only instances of which we can preserve a record as connected with our own city. In the country such remains have been also found, and many of them serve as important illustrations to the truth of the foregoing observations. A selection is here given, some of which have been generously contributed by my friend Mr. H. C. Coote, F.S.A. to whom so much credit is due as having been the first among English antiquaries to publish his researches in this direction, and thus invite attention to a most important subject of inquiry. In the following account of a discovery at Biddenham, in Bedfordshire, an illustration is afforded of the estimation in which this class of monument was held by the immense labour and trouble which must have been expended on such a singular deposition of objects as are described.

* "Ubi jam oportuna finium commutatione relictis primæ assignationis terminis, more arcifinio possideretur. Hyginus de Limit. constit."—Lachman, p. 178.

As some workmen were digging for gravel in Biddenham field, about two miles from Bedford, and about 100 yards from the high road (a Roman road), which leads to Bromham Bridge, they happened upon what appeared to be the shaft of a mill. The shaft was of some depth, and contained a series of deposits in the following order: Bones of a small dog, bones of a large dog, burnt stones, Roman pottery, a human skeleton, Roman sculpture, burnt stones again, altar-slab, bones of horse, dog, and ox, burnt stones, bones of fox, rat, hog, &c.; stone whorls, leather soles of shoe or sandal, Roman pottery, Samian ware, boars' tusks and nails, burnt stones, various bones, logs of wood, fragments of Roman pottery in sufficient quantity to make fifty urns, pieces of black thorn. The shaft was filled up with pebbles, which had been calcined to their centre and dispersed from the top to the bottom.

In a paper * descriptive of this discovery the Rev. W. Monkhouse, B.D., observes that the area occupied by the gravel, through which the shaft had been sunk, was very considerable, and that there was nothing in the vicinity to indicate domestic occupation, or lead to the supposition that the remains were simply those of an ancient well. The character of the soil also was such that before the introduction of artificial industry it could not possibly have been worth cultivating, and the situation of the shaft on the crown of the hill was one most unlikely for water to be found. The field, too, is mentioned in old records as "connigarde," a term used in Norman laws to denote a rabbit warren. There were no signs of the action of a bucket by abrasion of the wall of the shaft, and it must have been filled up at one and the same time. The author views it as a sepulchre, and thinks its situation may have had some connection with the vicinal way termed the Akenian Street, which, starting from Bath to Newport Pagnell, proceeded in an uncertain direction to Bedford, and thence to the Eastern Counties. Presuming it to have passed by Astwood, Stagsden, Bromham Bridge, and Biddenham, the sepulchre would be some 300 feet from the line of way.

Another illustration is that afforded by a discovery which occurred at Preston in Dorsetshire † in the year 1843, and which is described as follows in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxi. by Charles Warne, F.S.A.

The dry summer of 1842 having shown in the then growing crops of corn in a field at Preston indications of extensive buildings, excavations were in the spring of the past year made, which soon brought to view the foundations of a massive wall, five feet in thickness, and forming a square of about 280 feet: within this quadrangle was the foundation of another building 35 feet square; the soil within this inner building was removed, and the few coins and fragments of pottery which were turned up clearly proved it to be of Roman origin. But the most singular

* *Associated Architectural Societies Reports*, vol. iv. p. 283.

† *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxi. New Series.

discovery made was that of a shaft sunk in the south-east corner, which was about 4 feet by $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in diameter, and nearly 15 feet deep. The contents of this pit were of a very peculiar character; the sides had thin flat stones placed round, which, from holes in many of them, appeared to have been previously used for the covering (as at the present day) of a roof. On penetrating into the shaft a layer of charcoal and ashes was met with; then a double layer of the same description of flat stones covered the whole area of the shaft; between these stones was deposited a quantity of small (chiefly birds') bones and thin brass coins of apparently the Lower Empire, but their condition was such that (with the exception of one of Theodosius) they could not be appropriated. Six or seven of these layers of charcoal and flat stones, with bones and coins, were continued in succession, when a straight sword, about 22 inches in length, and much corroded, was found. Under this were seven more continuous layers as before, which brought us to the bottom of the pit: here was a larger sword, 36 inches long, and straight as the other, with numerous fragments of iron, viz., spear-heads, rings, crooks, part of the handle of a bucket, of similar shape with that in use in the present time, and various other articles, all which appeared to have undergone the action of fire. With these were also fragments of coarse pottery, and two vessels of the same description of ware, which were entire, and whose shape indicated their adaptation to domestic uses. The shaft was probed to its bottom; but, as the land was about to be sown with corn, it was necessary that the excavations should here be discontinued; a circumstance to be regretted, as but a small portion of the ground in the space between the outer and inner walls was moved. The only interesting objects here discovered were the bases of two pillars of apparently the Doric order, both of which must have been displaced from their original position. The numerous fragments of Roman pottery strewn over the adjoining soil, as well as the circumstances of the finding in the same field, in 1812, an urn filled with Roman coins, chiefly of the tyrants from Gordian to Posthumus (many of which, in the finest condition, I have in my collection) establish the fact of extensive Roman occupation. I feel a diffidence in hazarding a conjecture on these singular discoveries, particularly as regards the shaft, further than that I think it is quite evident that its contents must have formed a series of sacrificial deposits. With reference to the building itself, I would merely suggest the probability of the interior portion having been used by the Romans as a *Pharos*, of which the outward wall was used as a protection. The substructure occupied a site most advantageously placed for such an object, being situated about a quarter of a mile from the shore, on an eminence commanding the whole of the beautiful bay of Weymouth, in addition to an extensive view of the channel. An ancient *viâ* which led from hence to the landing place on the shore is still easily traced.*

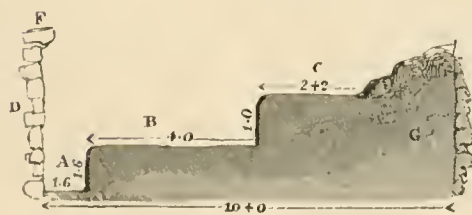
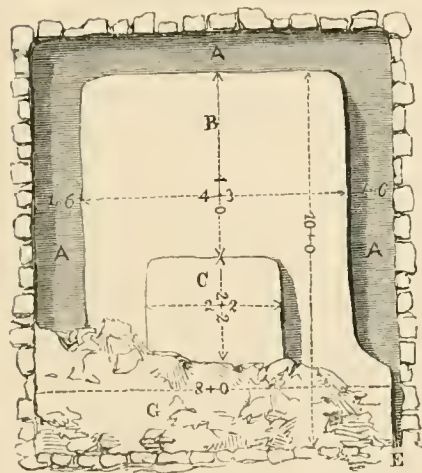
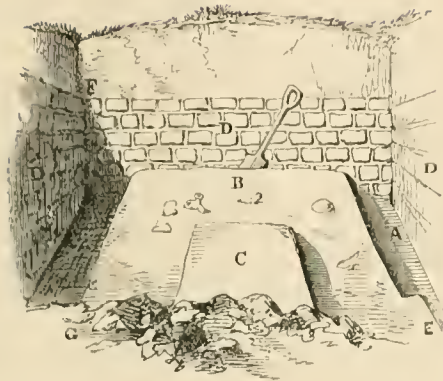
* From a report of a meeting of the Ashmolean Society, at which the late Dr. Buckland read a paper on the above discoveries, we glean that between each pair of tiles was the skeleton of one bird with one small Roman coin, and above the upper tier of tiles another bed of ashes. Similar beds, each inclosing the bird and coin, were repeated sixteen times between the top and bottom of the well. The birds referred to were the raven, buzzard, crow, and starling; there were also bones of a hare. Vide *Genl. Mag.* New Series, xxii. 635, 636, quoted by Mr. Coote. Also report in the *Times* of 18 Nov. 1844.

In the foregoing it will be observed that the remains of buildings are referred to. These it is possible are illustrations of the practice already referred to, viz. the erection by the proprietors of a sacred building upon the confines of their possessions.

In the year 1847 a singular discovery was made at Heydon Hill in Essex by the Hon. R. C. Neville, which is described and illustrated by Joseph Clarke, F.S.A. in the fourth volume of the journal of the British Archaeological Association.* It occurred at about half a mile from the village of Heydon, and at a short distance to the right of the road leading to Foulmire. Mr. Clarke writes :—

It is a small and nearly square room dug into the northern side of one of the numerous little hills or undulations thereabouts, roughly built round with pieces of chalk, the top of the structure having about four feet of earth above it. The bottom or floor B is apparently of lumps of chalk, and forms a hard conglomerate. On this floor at the northern part of the building is another raised smaller portion, C, of the same material and about a foot in height, probably forming a step into it. Around three sides of the floor B, the fourth side being so disturbed as to defy exact location (but I judge there could be none) is a trench A, which was found filled with charcoal and ashes, &c. It is about eighteen inches deep and about as much wide, terminating abruptly at E in a peculiar narrow, small, deep channel, not more than two or three inches in width, and from its declivity from without must have been an inlet as if for the purpose of conveying fluid into the trench A. Surrounding the whole is a roughly built wall composed of irregular pieces of clunch (hard chalk) rudely squared. It is about four feet high from the bottom of the trench and forms one side of it. The corner F presents an appearance of arching, which suggests the idea of its having been domed or partially domed over, but if this supposition be correct it must have been very low, the springing of the overhanging blocks of chalk being not more than two feet six inches above the floor B. Marks of fire are palpably visible in the upright walls D D D, but as there are no evidences of wearing or burning away it could have been but little used. A small brass coin of Constantius (Flavius Julius) the second, and fragments of Samian and other Roman fictile ware and implements found in it, indicate it to be of that period, and conjecture is busy in suggesting an origin for this mysterious cavity. From the arching appearance at F an inference may be drawn that it was a potter's oven, the floor B being the receptacle of the unburnt vessels surrounded by the fire in the trench A. It might have been for the sacrifice of animals, as bones, antlers, &c. were found and a small globular bell of brown metal resembling a cattle or horse bell, and similar to those bells of the present day called *rumblers* (those of the shape of church bells being called *latin* bells or *latins*) worn by teams of horses, a custom not yet quite extinct in the south of England. On comparison a skeleton head found there proved to be that of an ass, but this might have been accidental, as the room might have

* We are indebted to the council of the British Archaeological Association for the loan of these illustrations.



ROMAN REMAINS NEAR HEYDON HILL, ESSEX.

been in a dilapidated state and the creature might have fallen in and perished. But the finding of a bracelet or anklet of bronze suggests that it may have been a place of sepulture where the corpse of some one of distinction was consumed according to the Roman funeral rites.

In this account we read of more than one suggestion as to the meaning of the structure. It is viewed as *mysterious*, and from its arched roofing is thought to have been a potter's oven, a place of sacrifice, or the last resting place of some individual of distinction. The editor also considers the remains to be sepulchral, and remarks that originally they were probably "covered with a mound of earth, which may have been levelled by the agriculturist at some former period." No human remains however are recorded and the idea of burial rests alone on the circumstance of a bronze bracelet being found. The structure moreover is of a character of which descriptions appear in our text, and its contents are alike in harmony. It may have supported a mound of earth and as a variety of the "substructio ad terras excipiendas" * represented an "arca," and beneath the "botontinus" became a true terminal mark.

Another very singular illustration is that of a so-called well discovered near Ispden in Oxfordshire. It has been described by Mr. W. Winwood Reade as being within two feet of a footpath. Its mouth was narrow, the sides not bricked, but of rough ribbed chalk. Part of the way down were observed three logs of wood pointing perpendicularly towards the mouth. A line of steps were also discernible, which were cut into the sides with marvellous regularity. They were of the shape and size of a lady's stirrup, and intended, says Mr. Reade, to assist a man "shinning," as the phrase is, by himself. These steps commenced about twenty feet from the surface. The complete and mathematical manner in which they were chiselled out, and commencing low down in the well for the purposes of concealment, lead to the impression that there was some powerful reason for this arrangement.† It does not appear that anything had been buried, but the shaft was not probed to the bottom, so that this fact has not been ascertained. The presence however of the three logs may be sufficient to invest the shaft with an agrimensorial meaning: they are illustrations of the wooden stakes, the *pali picati* of the old authors, which they tell us were placed underground.‡

About three years ago the late W. H. Black, F.S.A., called my attention to an important discovery of a shaft or pit which had been excavated at Bekes-

* See *Terminorum Diagrammata*, Lachman, p. 341.

† See *Times Newspaper*, Oct. 5, 1860.

‡ See Lachman, p. 349, "Idem partes Tusciæ Florentiæ quam maxime palos iliceos picatos pro terminibus sub terra defiximus."

bourn Hill, near Canterbury, and a description of which by John Brent, Jun., F.S.A., had appeared in the second volume of the *Archæologia Cantiana*. It is described as a sepulchral shaft, but the following particulars taken from Mr. Brent's communication for comparison with the foregoing will indicate a more important significance, and afford some ground for the belief that it is but another example of these singular terminal signs:—

Oaken beams a foot square first appeared, and then the planking of a quadrilateral oaken shaft to the depth of six feet, then heavy cross-beams, then planking again terminated by four cross-beams at the top. These lay 25 feet below the surface. The cross-beams were 6 feet 6 inches in length, firmly mortised together. The planks were mortised or rabbeted together, and let into the beams, each plank being pierced by transverse ties, crossing the corners of the shaft inside, and giving to the entire structure the appearance of having a flight of steps or stays within. These ties projected two or three inches on the outside. There was no appearance of iron or any other metal having been used in the construction of the shaft, but the whole fabric was closely and skilfully knit together by the mortises and ties, while the weight of the materials themselves and the pressure of the soil around prevented any of the parts becoming displaced. The entire fabric was of oak; the cross-beams evidencing by their grain that they were the product of large trees. The wood had become jet black by age: but, although somewhat soft on the surface, was hard and compact at a short distance within. The interior quadrature of the shaft was 3 feet 3 inches, the cross-ties about a foot long, the beams 6 feet 6 inches and 12 inches square. The soil where the fabric was found was gravelly at the surface, lower down of sandy loam.

The beams and planks were probably all hewn by the axe, yet were as neatly fitted and as well proportioned as if done by a skilful artisan in the present day, each mortised plank exactly corresponding with the one above it. We have been thus minute in detail, as we know of no other example of carpentry ever having been found so perfect of the undoubted antiquity of the fabric we have described. As it was cleared away from the soil it loomed out against the dark earthen bed from which it had been excavated like a mysterious record of a past and unknown age, exhibiting in some respects features new and strange. The top of the shaft when found was covered with open planks, the structure being entirely filled with large flints: the workmen speedily broke down one side, and threw out the stones. As they approached the base they came upon a single urn, about ten inches in height, and formed of bluish black clay. It was protected by large flints in some manner arched over it. Beneath it was a layer of flints, then five urns, one central and one in each corner of the shaft. Among the latter was an urn with a large piece of baked clay placed over its mouth.

Mr. Brent goes on to say that he was present at the spot shortly after the contents were removed from the shaft, and found fragments in the soil taken out of it, and from the pieces he obtained he concluded that there were seven or eight urns within the entombment.

Nothing but a soft white clayey matter was found within the urns, and these were thought to be burnt bones in a deliquescent state. Some substance of a fibrous texture was found. This might have been yarn which went round the necks of the urns, or matting or woollen cloth laid over their mouths. Upon exposure to the air it speedily dissolved, as did for the most part some walnut or filbert shells. Beneath the last deposit of urns was a flat piece of stone, over a concavity in the earth at the bottom of the shaft. It was kept in its place by six pegs, apparently of chestnut wood, pinned around it. On the stone, imbedded in the soil, was arranged a circle of horses' teeth.

Another discovery of importance, from the circumstance of its seeming to illustrate the various customs of the Roman agrimensors is that described by Samuel Sharpe, F.S.A., F.G.S., in a paper in *The Numismatic Chronicle*,* entitled, "Roman Coins found in Surface Soil Ironstone Pits, Duston, near Northampton." The facts are interesting, and they are thus recorded by Mr. Sharpe: "Three grave-like excavations in the ironstone immediately below the surface-soil were a short time ago discovered. These had a depth of some four feet in the rock, were arranged in a radiating position, and had a flooring covered with ashes, among which some burnt stones were found, and a nest of Romano-British *minimi*." Here we possess an illustration in Britain of a passage in the old authors to the effect that coins were sometimes selected as objects for deposition at terminal boundaries.†

These illustrations could well be amplified had we space at command, but they are sufficient to show that there exists in this country, as well as others, a class of monuments, *sui generis*, for which no satisfactory explanation has until recently been given. In the descriptive reports of all that have been seen we note that the finders have failed to account for their meaning. With some they are places of sepulture, sites of sacrificial rites, places for the concealment of treasure, and with others but mere pits or wells filled with the refuse of centuries. Such notions have naturally occupied the minds of observers in the hope thereby of accounting for certain distinctive peculiarities. They are hardly sufficient, however, when opposed to existing texts of known authenticity, which tell us of surveys, as practised throughout the provinces of the Empire, and, moreover,‡

* Vol. ix. New Series, p. 169.

† Quia de limitibus curavimus exponere, sub terminis qualia signa invenimus? Aut calcem, aut gypsum, aut carbones, aut vitria fracta, aut cineres, aut testam tusam, aut *decanummos vel pentanummos*." *Expositio Limitum*, &c., var. auctores, p. 265.

‡ See Rescript of Constantine already mentioned, also the *Itinerarium Antonini*, cited in Godefroy's Note to the Theod. Code, ii. pp. 353-4, "provincias orbis terræ in longitudinem et latitudinem mensurari." Compare also the references in the writings of the agrimensors to the practice of their art in Spain,

explain with precision the very character of the marks and objects to be looked for. It is in their application that uncertainty arises; it may be difficult to comprehend the necessity for the vast labour and trouble which has in many cases been expended, or for the need of an earthen mound like Silbury Hill, Thetford Mount, or that at Raleigh in Essex; but, being explicitly told that there is a certain application attached to such structures and those of analogous character, it is their meaning that we have to ascertain. The only necessity is to be cautious in forming deductions; and by a gradual assemblage of facts, aided by the results of future discoveries, gradually accumulate information for practical use, which, did it lead to no other result than as serving to illustrate the great roads and highways of our land, and the vexed positions of many of the stations in the Antonine Itinerary, would be of sufficient importance to demand attention from all students interested in the early colonization of Britain.

The fact of liminary monuments occurring on the east bank of the Walbrook would seem to exclude the possibility of the first city having been established on the site between that watercourse and the river Fleet, and further, as Stukely would have us to believe, that Cheapside formed the centre, and Lad Lane and Cateaton Street the northern, limit. The dates of the coins found are some evidence that one at least of the two deposits is connected with the earliest occupation of Roman London, and that prior to its great extension. They may also assist us to account for the position of London Stone: this monument occurs

Portugal, Gaul, Africa, Pannonia, Phrygia, Asia, Dalmatia, Constantinople, viz. in Lachman's edition, Spain and Portugal, pp. 4, 22, 51-171, Gaul, p. 353, Africa, pp. 53, 57, 87, 180, 307, 353, Pannonia, pp. 121, 205, Phrygia, p. 206, Asia, p. 206, Dalmatia, p. 240, Constantinople, p. 351. See also the *Revue Archæologique*, N. Series, vol. 20, p. 318, for the description of a terminal monument discovered in Sardinia. A reference to this has been kindly suggested by Mr. Coote as affording by modern discovery a striking illustration of the truth of the ancient texts. The monument was found in the year 1869 upon a site but a short distance from the sea, upon the western site of Sardinia, at a place called Sisiddu, near the villages of Cagliari and Tres Nuraghes, in the province of Cagliari. It was a stone, presenting upon each of its two principal faces, cut in parallelogram, an inscription coarsely engraved. There was an inscription also upon one of its two lateral faces, which were considerably narrower. These inscriptions, as read by the author of the account in the "*Revue*," are

TERMINVS		TERMINVS
GIDDILITA-	OLLAE	EVTHICIANO-
NORVM		RYM
PRIM . E . IN . PORTV		

and it is conjectured that the stone is a terminus of pagi. It is true that no names like them can be found, but such omissions in the geography of an island like Sardinia may be understood. The word *olla* clearly refers to perfect fictile vessels which we have seen were buried at terminal boundaries.

along the same line, and it may really be, what tradition has always asserted it to be, a limitary stone. It has been a subject of discussion for generations of antiquaries, and its object and intention have never yet been clearly ascertained. Such facts as could be gathered respecting it from the City archives were included in the description of the Roman Tessellated Pavement in Bucklersbury, but nothing conclusive was arrived at. It was suggested that it may have formed part of a single stone, once of some magnitude, as a sepulchral monument by the wayside, or a portion of one of the immense buildings which once existed in the locality. In defining the line followed by the stream we shall observe that the stone, prior to its removal in 1742 from one side of the roadway to the other, was situate much nearer to the embankment, though it is impossible at this spot to define where would be the actual limit of dry land. The locality was a boggy one, and at this particular place the brook most circuitous and uncertain in its course. In the sewerage excavations made some years ago at Tower Royal, Little St. Thomas Apostle, and Cloak Lane, the channel was observed to be no less than 248 feet in width, filled with made earth and mud placed in horizontal layers, and containing a quantity of black timber of small scantling. The form of the banks could be distinctly traced, covered with rank grass and weeds. The stone, therefore, would in remote times have had to be erected on the first available spot of ground, and this will be seen to accord very nearly with its original position. It would thus be near the end of Cannon Street, and adjoin the way across the stream which ran westward through Watling Street, and really occupy such a situation as would be selected by the agrimensor. We know that Camden, writing in 1586, considered its position, as then situate in the centre of the largest diameter of the City, to lead to the conclusion that it was a milliary, like that in the Forum at Rome, from whence all the distances were measured; and as a monument of this character it has always been considered. It is, however, now known that the distances were not measured from the centre of the city, but from the ancient gates, "and that the *Milliarium Aureum* had a different use from that once ascribed to it, that it was in fact a tabular index of roads and not a mile-stone."* We know, however, that Londinium was the terminus of the majority of the Iters comprised in the Antonine Itinerary, and that, therefore, the mileage must have been reckoned from some given point. Taking, therefore, into consideration the Roman practice of starting from the city gate, and at the end of a line of road, and placing this western gate at Dowgate, the traditionary

* See Inquiry as to the original site of Roman London, by Arthur Taylor, Esq. *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 115.

position of London Stone is true enough. And its tradition as a "mile-stone" may be equally correct, and, as such, we may take it as being but another liminary monument on the eastern bank of Walbrook.

A further interest attaches to this watercourse from the position it continued to occupy with respect to the subsequent extension of the city. In all matters relating to civic jurisdiction it appears to have formed a dividing line; from the city records we see that juries on important occasions were selected in equal numbers from inhabitants on either side the stream, and in the earliest notice which has been preserved of the summoning of a Court of Common Council at Guildhall, viz. that in 1347, there are twelve wards selected on the east and eleven to represent the western side of Walbrook. It appears indeed to have been a second city which here grew up. In later days we see in Garlickhithe a successor to the ancient landing-place at Billingsgate. West Cheap arises in distinction to East Cheap, and at West Smithfield we find a companion to Smithfield in the East. The river marks too, as we may see upon the map, certain of the Ward boundaries; there are Dowgate, Walbrook, Broad Street, and Bishops-gate Without, upon the eastern side, and a similar number, viz. Vintry, Cordwainer, Cheap, and Coleman Street upon the West. The possessions also of many of the ancient city companies have their limits here. These guilds are of remote antiquity, and may indeed date from Roman times.* The properties of the inn-holders, the dyers, the joiners, the skimmers, tallow-chandlers, and cutlers, run down to the western bank. With respect to the ancient wards which are connected with the extension of our city there appear to be evidences of a line of demarcation between some of them which is of interest to our present investigations. We have already referred to the traces which the excavations have revealed of tributary streams from the west having fallen into the Walbrook in the vicinity of Bucklersbury. The line taken by these, if more than one, is in the absence of well authenticated discoveries difficult to lay down; but it is the opinion of my friend Alfred White, F.S.A., who has kindly contributed the following observations on the subject, that there was a watercourse along the line of Cheapside which had its exit into Walbrook at the eastern end of Bucklersbury. Mr. White remarks,

"Besides the ancient division of the wards of London into those east and west of Walbrook, there seems to have been at one time a marked boundary along the course of Cheapside, dividing the four wards of Bread Street, Cordwainer Street,

* See paper by H. C. Coote, F.S.A. on Ordinances of some Secular Guilds of London. *Trans. London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, vol. iv.

Queenhithe, and Vintry from those on the north side of Cheapside, and Old Change and Lambeth Hill (except a small portion at the north end near Cheapside, and at the south near Thames Street) form their western limits. These wards may therefore roughly be taken as defined by Walbrook on the east, the Thames on the south, Old Change and Lambeth Hill on the west, and Cheapside on the north. The western boundary abuts on the precincts of St. Paul's cathedral and those of Castle Baynard, or perhaps walls belonging to these two places. On the south and east sides river-courses were the boundary of these wards, and it is hoped to show that formerly a watercourse ran along the present line of Cheapside, and fell into Walbrook at Bucklersbury east end. It was the opinion of Sir C. Wren that a Roman causeway ran along the line south of Cheapside, and that it was at the limit of the city during a part of the Roman occupation, and our brook would have run on the north side of this causeway or road. We feel that the generally received notion that Cheapside was at all times the site of a great western market, as Eastcheap was that for the eastern part of the city, will be against these views, but we must remember that this is not supported by any document which can be considered of great antiquity, and is not found perhaps before the thirteenth century. Even the mention of Cheapside as a highway does not go back to very early times. That this site in the eleventh century had not the consistence of an average field is proved by the fact that in 1090, when the roof of Bow church was blown off by a tempest, the rafters, which were 26 feet long, penetrated more than 20 feet into the soft soil of Cheapside. We may therefore fairly infer that at this period nothing in the nature of a highway existed here. The strongest evidence of the existence of a watercourse in the line of Cheapside we find in Maitland's *History of London*, vol. ii. p. 826 :

At Bread Street corner, the north-east end, in 1595, one Thomas Tomlinson, causing in the High Street of Cheap a vault to be digged and made, there was found, at fifteen feet deep, a fair pavement, like that above ground, and at the further end, at the channel, was found a tree sawed into five steps, which was to step over some brook running out of the west towards Walbrook. And upon the edge of the said brook, as it seemeth, there were found lying along the bodies of two great trees, the ends whereof were then sawed off, and firm timber, as at the first when they fell. Part of the said trees remain yet in the ground undigged. It was all forced ground until they went past the trees aforesaid, which was about seventeen feet deep or better. Thus much hath the ground of this city (in that place) been raised from the main. And here it may be observed, that within fourscore years and less Cheapside was raised divers feet higher, for it was found to be twenty-eight feet higher than it was when St. Paul's was first built, as appeared by several eminent marks discovered in the late laying of the foundation of that church."

Thus we see that in this western part of Cheapside a running water falling towards Walbrook existed at an early period, and if we proceed a short distance eastward we shall find that at Honey Lane Market and Milk Street Roman pavements, &c. were found at a depth of 18 feet below the surface on the north side of Cheapside, and immediately to the south is Sir C. Wren's Roman causeway, which was found at a depth of about 18 feet below the present level, and on which stands the tower of Bow church. Eastward of this point early remains have been found at about the same depth, especially opposite to Mercers' Hall. On the south side of the Poultry the soft river bed is of such a depth that two series of vaults were constructed under one, if not more, of the recently-built houses before the firm clay was reached, and the same character of soil exists to the east end of Bucklersbury, by the course of Walbrook, where a Roman road or causeway (probably a continuation of that by Bow church) appears to have crossed Walbrook and proceeded towards the east part of the city. West of Bread Street the course of the brook is not known, and it may be doubtful if it struck off northward by about Gutter Lane, and so towards springs known to exist near Cripplegate, or if it came from further westward by the ward boundary, which runs near large springs which supply the ancient baths in Bath Street, north of Newgate Street, and behind the new buildings of the Post-office, and would carry off the abundant springs on that side of West Smithfield. It will be required to show, that at an early period (say about the tenth century) the level of the adjoining portion of the wards of Cordwainer Street and Bread Street were at a much higher level than the proposed brook or watercourse. This is readily done by the levels of the sills of the windows of the crypt of Bow church, and that which existed under Gerrard's Hall. At the latter the soil had certainly not been raised above a foot since the thirteenth century, and at Bow church not more than one or two feet has been added since that crypt was constructed in the eleventh century.

It will be well to mention here that it is a great mistake to suppose that the floors of these crypts were ever on the ground level, as some writers have asserted. They were, like many other such buildings in London and elsewhere, always crypts or undercrofts, and the top of the slope of the window recess generally shows the original sill where the ground level existed when the crypt was constructed. We cannot determine the position of the pavement and windows of the Roman temple mentioned by Sir C. Wren as existing on the site of Bow church. He could not have taken the existing crypt as belonging to this period, and it is very possible that the whole structure was destroyed to erect either the

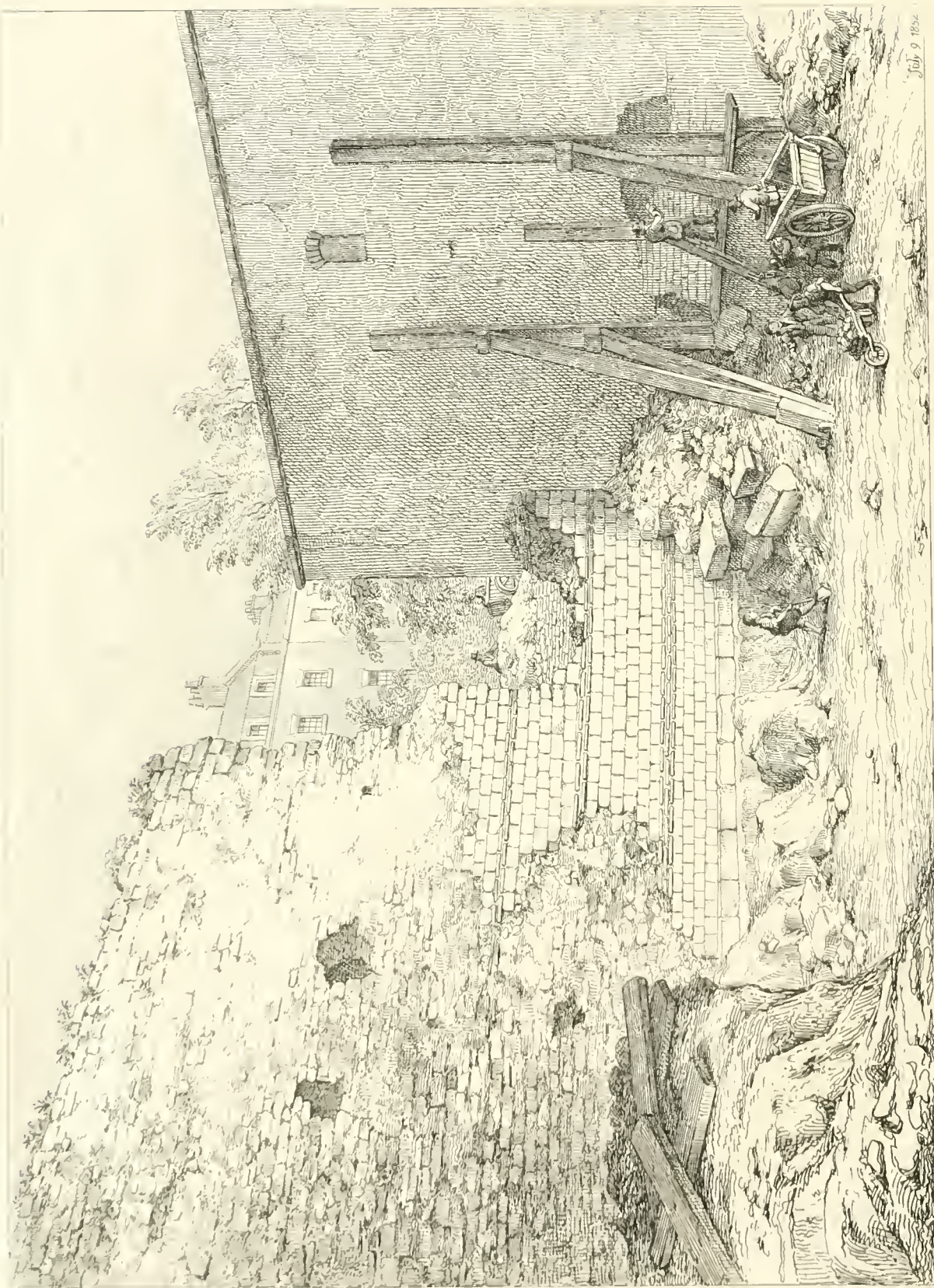
tower or vestibule which connects it with the church. These facts will show that the great alteration in level has been along the course of Cheapside, and on its northern neighbourhood.

It is probable that the name of Wood Street, near the steps or bridge over the brook at Bread Street, may be but a corruption of *wad*, a ford, and it would appear that this was formerly an important approach to London, and there must have been here some means of crossing the brook, for we read that in 1010 the body of St. Edmund was brought through Cripplegate to St. Paul's, and the direct way would be along Wood Street and over this ford. The affix of Bow to the church of St. Mary the Virgin likewise suggests to us the vicinity of a stream, and of a way over it, not here by a ford but a bridge or bow. We need go but a few miles to find a church similarly named from an adjoining bridge, viz. St. Mary-le-Bow at Stratford, by the river Lea. A tradition respecting Bow church in Cheapside favours this view, viz. that the lanterns on its tower were lighted at night to direct the mariners from the north part of the city towards Garlickhithe, and we think that such a help would be especially applicable where the site of a bridge was to be hit. At York a similar tradition exists regarding the tower of All Saints on the Pavement in that city, and this would be well placed to guide the traveller to the Ouse bridge. Having brought together these reasons for considering that the course of Cheapside was formerly at a low level, we are bound to suggest the way in which it was raised during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so as to become an important highway, where the standard, the cross, and conduits were erected, and which is after this period continually appearing as the site of tournaments and other shows, and the frequent route for processions through the city. Wherever the soil of Cheapside, or the parts on its immediate northern side, is disturbed, it is found to consist of made earth, and such materials as would be supplied by destroyed buildings which had existed in other parts of the city. In the latter part of the eleventh century, viz. in 1077, and again in 1086, very large portions of London were destroyed by fire, and in 1090 600 houses and many churches were thrown down by a tremendous hurricane. This was followed two years afterwards by another fire, and in 1136 this city is said to have been burnt from London Bridge to St. Clement Danes. These calamities must have caused the removal of vast quantities of materials, which would naturally be thrown into the lowest parts of the town, and we find the course of Walbrook and the site of Cheapside raised many feet by such matter. Another circumstance which favours our views is the singular configuration of the ward of Cheap. It presents evidence of having been introduced amongst, and

at the expense of, the neighbouring wards. It does not display on any side a straight boundary, or one which has the stamp of antiquity about it, whereas it everywhere disturbs the apparent old and direct limits of other wards. In documents of the thirteenth century, preserved among the archives at the Record Office and also at Guildhall, this ward is called "Fori," and it is not until the 14th Edward III. (1340), that we find in a list of the wards at Guildhall that it is designated "Chepe," but Fori is used again for a considerable period. The application of this word to indicate Cheap Ward has led some antiquaries to suppose that the Roman Forum occupied the site of Cheapside; but it must have been too far from the centre of the Roman city to have enjoyed that distinction, and it is improbable that any such great public place could ever have been here. It must not be supposed that we question the existence of a locality called West Cheap, to distinguish it from East Cheap, for amongst the early wills preserved in Guildhall we find that in 1258, 43 Hen. III., Felica de Colvere demised a quit-rent on premises in West Cheap (Hustings Roll No. 2, mem. 2); and in 1271, 56 Hen. III., William Rychemund bequeaths property situate in West Chepe (Hustings Roll No. 4, mem. 2). These two entries show clearly that West Cheap did exist, and there can be no doubt that it was one of the markets of London, certainly twenty-six years before the list of wards was compiled in 1284. The Ward of Cheap is mentioned in the City Records in 1314, and in the taxation of 1339, but even then (being assessed at only 51*l.* 10*s.*) it had not attained anything like the position of its neighbour, Cordwainer Street Ward, which is assessed at 2,195*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* For these many reasons we feel justified in concluding that gradually the bed of our ancient watercourse became dry land, and that its site, with portions from the neighbouring wards, became the Ward of Cheap. About the thirteenth century we know the cross and conduit are said to have been erected, and from this period the locality became most important in the enlarged condition of London."

It would be foreign to the purport of this essay did we attempt to pursue the history of the above mentioned wards, or those liberties and districts which were included in the full development of the Roman city. Its circumvallation is usually ascribed to the reign of Constantine, with subsequent alterations and completions by Theodosius,* at the close of the fourth century. Of this wall but little remains; it pursued a course of which ample record has been preserved

* *Instaurabat urbes et prædiaria, castra, limitesque vigilis et pretenturis.* Ammianus Marcellinus, 28, cap. 2.

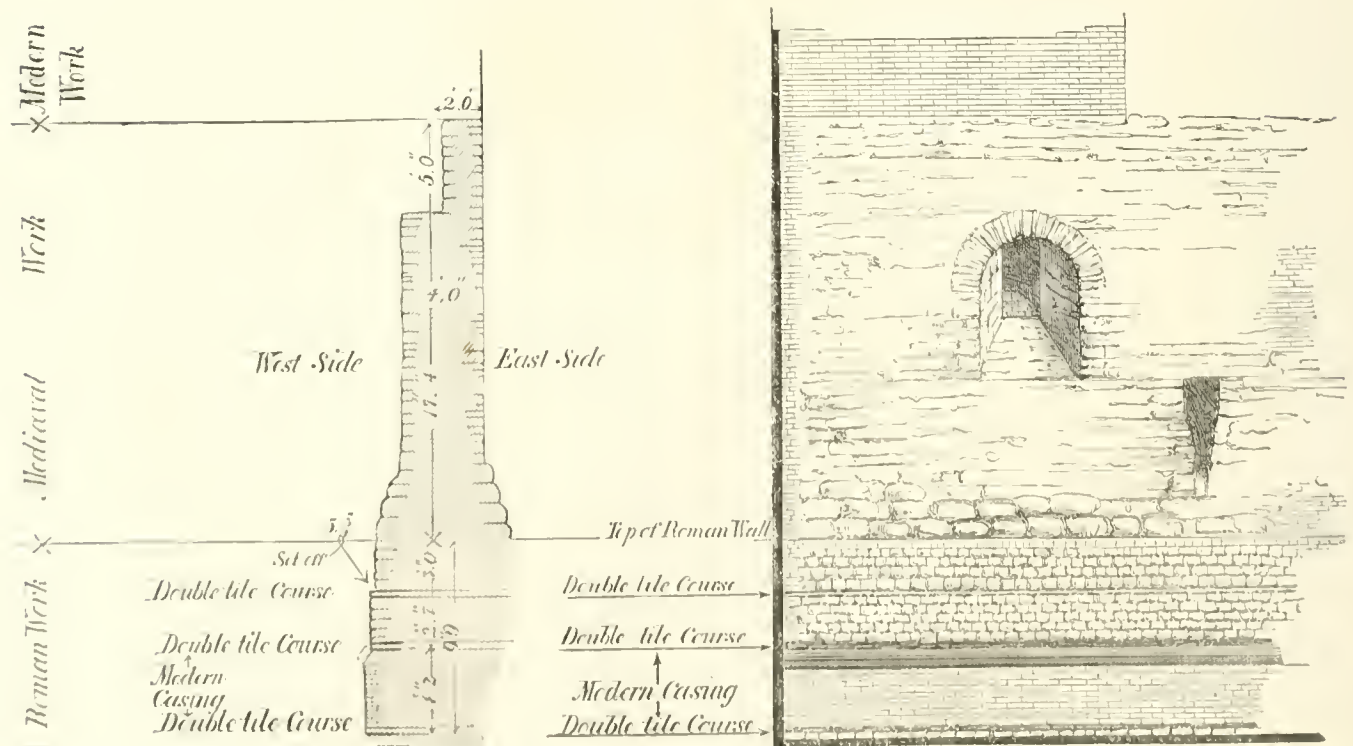


Drawn & Engraved by F. W. F. 1832

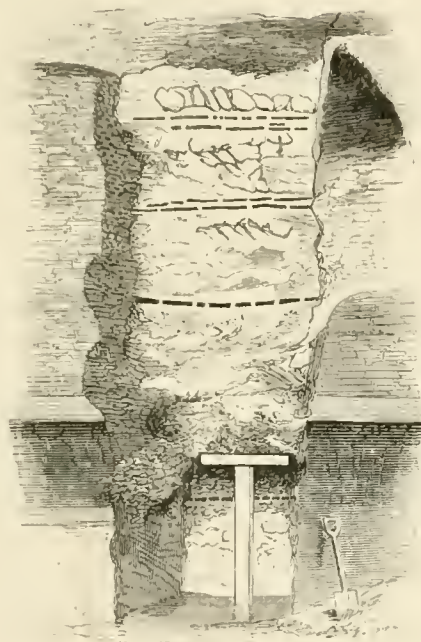
The Wall at Tower Hill

among the writings of mediæval times, during which period its superstructure must have often been rebuilt and repaired. Its route may be easily identified upon our plan. It commenced near the Tower, thence ran northward to the east end of Leadenhall Street, bending towards the north-west, until reaching the north end of Bishopsgate Street Within it ran westward by Cripplegate to Aldersgate, and thence to Newgate, continuing by Ludgate along the eastern bank of the Fleet river to the Thames at Blackfriars; there being probably at Castle Baynard an external fort similar to that of the Tower in the east. The existing fragments of this wall are occasionally disclosed; they are few in number, and each time they are uncovered they are lessened in extent, from the requisite alterations and requirements of modern buildings. The interesting portion near Tower Hill was exposed a short time since; it was a remnant adjoining the piece figured by Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A. from a drawing made in the year 1852 by the late Mr. Fairholt, F.S.A. This appeared in the *Illustrations of Roman London*, and Mr. Smith has kindly permitted the repetition of the etching, which, in addition to its illustration of a particular fragment, affords a general idea of such portions of the City Wall as may be considered to be of Roman work. In his description of the plate Mr. Smith remarks: "The wall was laid open to its foundation, which could be well examined and understood. In the first place a trench was dug between two and three feet deep. This trench was filled in or "puddled in," as it is termed, with a bed of clay and flints. Upon this were laid boulders and concrete to about a foot thick. The view represents the ground excavated somewhat deeper than the foundation; and the level of the ground before the excavation is shown in the left-hand corner of the plate. Upon the foundation was placed a set-off row of large square stones; upon them four layers of smaller stones, regularly and neatly cut; then a bonding course of three rows of red tiles, above which are six layers of stones, separated by a bonding course of tiles, as before, from a third division of five layers of stones; the bonding course of tiles above these is composed of two rows of tiles, and, in like manner, the facing was carried to the top. The tiles of the third row are red and yellow, and they extend through the entire width of the wall, which is about ten feet, the height having been apparently nearly thirty feet. The core of the wall is composed of rubble, cemented together with concrete, in which lime predominates, as is usual in Roman mortar. Pounded tile is also used in the mortar which cements the facing; this gives it that peculiar red hue which led FitzStephen to imagine the cement of the founda-

tion of the Tower to have been tempered with the blood of beasts." The fragment which has recently been exposed was about thirty feet long and fifteen feet high, having bricks and tiles well placed, and intermingled with flints and cement. At its southern end this adjoined a large piece which still exists in the basement of Messrs. Barbers' Bonded Warehouses, near Trinity Square, and which is probably the most interesting specimen of the old wall that now remains. Under the guidance of Mr. Charles Otton I have had the opportunity of inspecting it, and of tracing its course for upwards of a hundred feet as a boundary wall to a portion of their cellarge. At the end of their south vault there may yet be seen a typical specimen of the "facing," having the squared stones and bonding tiles marvellously well defined. In the requisite alterations the proprietors have appreciated these interesting features, and in the modern brickwork which has been added there are occasional openings provided by which the ancient wall can be readily identified. They have also studiously preserved one of the small casements or recesses which existed in the medieval portion of the wall. These are illustrated by the example figured in the accompanying illustra-



tion which appeared a few years ago, with some observations upon the City Wall, by Frederick Wallen, Esq., in the Transactions of our Society.* A portion of the parapet or breast wall, as shown in the section, can still be traced. The wall has also been disclosed near Vine Street, Minories, within the present year, and large quantities of it destroyed. The interesting bastion known to exist in Cripplegate churchyard has been fortunately preserved. A section, here illustrated from a sketch taken by Mr. J. P. Emslie, was recently uncovered in the Old Bailey, but is now effectually



blocked in. It was evidently of Roman work, and a portion of the early wall which here ran by St. Martin's church, direct from Ludgate to the Thames. In the reign of Edward I. a large portion was pulled down, in order to make room for the monastery at Blackfriars. In the charter granted for the purpose the citizens are enjoined to erect a new wall to run from Ludgate westward behind the houses in Fleet Ditch, and then south as far as the Thames, at the head of which was to be built a Tower for the reception of the King. An interesting fragment of this later structure is still to be seen in the passage leading from the Broadway in Ludgate Hill.

As regards the course taken by any earlier wall no information can be gained. It is probable that one existed from the known practice of the Romans to thus enclose their towns and cities, but discoveries which have been made are insufficient

* Vol. iii. p. 32.

to enable us to define its plan. No certain indications of its existence have been observed east of Walbrook, and westward all discoveries that are made tend to indicate the latter period of the Roman occupation. The villa residence of which the tessellated pavement found in 1869 formed part was probably suburban at the time of its construction, as were those extensive buildings of which walls and pavements were discovered in the vicinity of Huggin Lane, and in Wood Street by the corner of St. Michael's Church. In Foster Lane sewerage excavations revealed a pavement and quantities of glass and pottery, and near to the junction of St. Paul's churchyard with Cheapside a pavement was observed at a depth of 18 feet, and connected with Roman walls.

The design was a rosette pattern in red, grey, white, yellow, and black *tessellæ*; a hypocaust was below with its rows of tile-pillars or columns averaging from fifteen to twenty tiles in each column. Associated with the remains were coins of Constans, Constantius, Magnentius, Decentius, and Valens, indicating that, like the extensive pavement observed by Mr. Roach Smith * in Paternoster Row, which was above an interment in a tile-tomb, it really belonged to the closing period of the occupation. The burials, also, which have been observed, strikingly illustrate the gradual extension of the city. In Bow Lane, during the autumn of 1839, a skeleton was discovered at the depth of 15 feet, lying north and south in a kind of grave formed with the large drain-tiles placed edgewise. In its mouth was a second-brass coin, so much corroded and defaced as to be quite illegible. In Queen Street, in the course of excavations in the year 1842, cinerary urns of a rude style of art were found; in one of them the remains of human bones adhered so firmly as to have the appearance of being part and parcel of the vessel, for, as was chemically explained, the alkali in the bones, doubtless deposited before they were allowed to cool, had united with the silex in the clay. Among the remains, when forcibly separated from the vessel, was easily recognised a portion of the nasal bone. There were five of these jars, some containing only mud and charcoal. There were also exhumed fragments of tessellated pavements, broken amphoræ, urns, mortaria, Samian pottery, boars' tusks, and other relics; also a second-brass coin of the Emperor Nero. Still further westward we note the discoveries made by Sir Christopher Wren on the site of St. Paul's cathedral, and which clearly indicate an extramural situation devoted to sepulchral purposes. In his *Parentalia* he remarks "Under the graves of the later ages, in a row below them, were the burial-places of the Saxon times. The Saxons, as it appeared, were accustomed to line their graves with chalk stones, though some more eminent were entombed in coffins of whole

* See Roach Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 22 et seq.

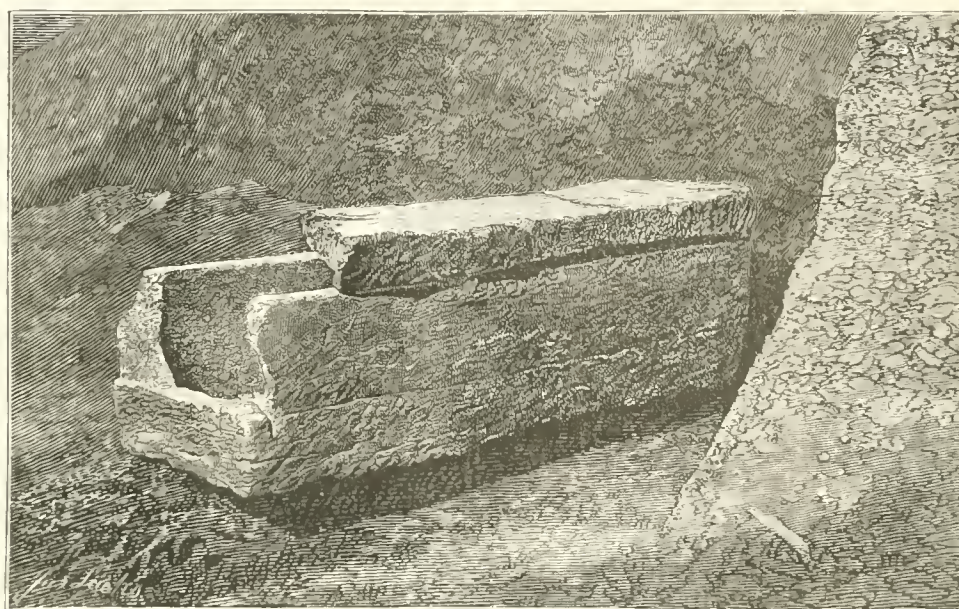
stones. Below these were British graves, where were found ivory and wooden pins of a hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of about six inches long. It seems the bodies were only wrapped up and pinned in woollen shrouds, which, being consumed, the pins remained entire. In the same row, and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet deep or more, and belonged to the colony when the Romans and Britons lived and died together." There is also the well-known monument discovered by Sir Christopher when digging the foundations of St. Martin's church at Ludgate, and now preserved among the Arundel Marbles at Oxford.* It is a sepulchral stone set up by Januaria Matrina to her husband Vivius Marcianus, a soldier of the second legion, called Augusta. Next, we notice the inscribed pedestal found behind the London Coffee House in 1806, and



now preserved in the Museum at Guildhall. The inscription is to the memory of Claudia Martina, wife of Anenectus Provincialis, who died at the early age of nine-

* See Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua, Illustrations of Roman London*, &c.

teen, and was buried where the monument was erected; and lastly, we have the discovery, made but a few weeks since, of an oolitic sarcophagus on the eastern bank of the Fleet river. This was found in the vicinity of Fleet Lane at a depth of 12 feet from the surface. The position is marked upon our plan. Its dimensions are 7 feet 9 inches long, 4 feet 2½ inches wide, and 3 feet deep. It has, like similar tombs of Roman date, been hewn from a solid block, and is of the same description of rag-stone as other examples which have been recorded. It contained when found the remains of a skeleton which had apparently been buried in lime. The annexed illustration is from a photograph taken as it lay



in situ. Adjoining the tomb were observed evidences of another interment, with fragments of pottery, &c. Its massive character and isolated position at this the western limit of the Roman city, upon the very margin of the watereourse, can only be explained by assuming it to be another illustration of the use of liminary monuments. The marble tomb found at Clapton,* and the singular interment found at Bloomfield Street, Moorfields, with the sarcophagus to the memory of Valerius Amandinus discovered at Westminster Abbey,† serve as examples of

* See *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* for illustrative descriptions, by J. E. Price, F.S.A., of both these monuments, vol. iii. The sarcophagus found near Fleet Lane has recently been presented by Messrs. Petter and Galpin, upon whose property it was discovered, to the Museum of the Corporation at Guildhall.

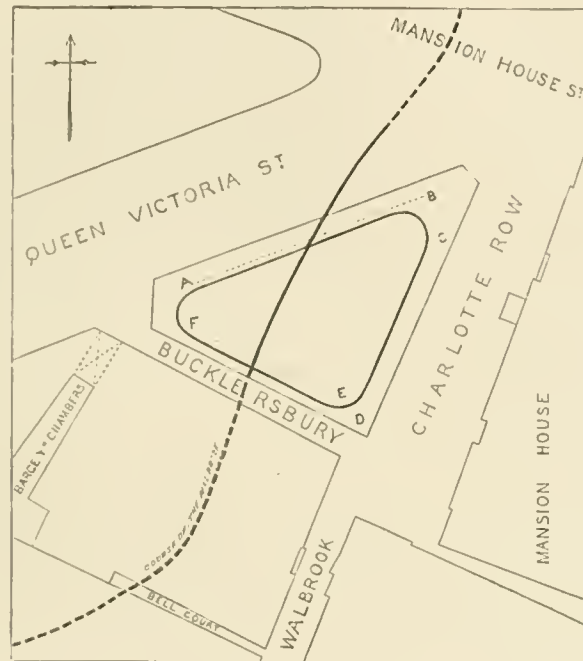
† See *Observations on the recently-discovered Roman Sepulchre at Westminster Abbey*, by the late W. H. Black, F.S.A.—*Trans. London and Middlesex Arch. Soc.* vol. iv.



ROMAN SEPULCHRE DISCOVERED AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

the practice, already referred to, of the occasional use of sepulchres by the agri-mensors in their application of terminal marks.

The accompanying woodcut represents the space comprised in the recent excavations. It forms a triangular site with a frontage to Queen Victoria Street, Charlotte Row, and Bucklersbury, and covering an area of 6,600 feet. Across



the plan may be discerned the line pursued by the brook, which, after running beneath the church of St. Mildred, crossed the Poultry, passed Bucklersbury, where formerly there was a bridge, and then, bearing to the west of St. Stephen Walbrook, made a considerable bend and crossed Budge Row near to its eastern end. It is therefore apparent that a complete section of a portion of the ancient watercourse has now been disclosed, and indeed the excavations have afforded plentiful illustrations of the wooden piling placed along the line of the embankment and the gradual slope therefrom to the extreme depth of the river bed. In the conduct of the works trenches were first excavated for the foundations of the massive external walls. These are respectively marked upon the map, and it is from them that the greater portion of the antiquities has been collected.

In that parallel with Charlotte Row there appeared at a depth of about 25 feet from the surface-level a timber flooring supported by huge oak timbers 12 inches $\times$ 12 square, and running parallel with the stream. This was at the south

corner, and may have indicated a stage or landing-place at this portion of the line. Adjoining this were evidences of a macadamised roadway, which extended in a line with Bucklersbury until it reached the apparent course of the brook. Upon the opposite side similar indications appeared and the remains possibly indicate a roadway which here crossed the stream. It was in this trench that the remains of the *arca* and the perfect *amphora* were discovered. In the trench parallel with Bucklersbury a seam of ballast was disclosed at a depth of 35 feet. In this were quantities of wooden piles, many of which had been driven into the clay prior to the silting up around them of this sand and shingle. The greatest depth from which these piles were drawn was upwards of 40 feet from the street-level. Near to the spot marked F upon the plan the greatest number of the antiquities were seen. Here appeared fragments of bricks, tiles, and other indications of buildings associated with a vast number of coins, pottery, and personal objects both of iron and bronze. All bore evidences of fire: portions of metal and glass were collected which by extreme heat had been fused and melted into misshapen forms. At this spot there was also discovered a large quantity of wheat. This, though retaining the form of the grain, was blackened, and much of it completely carbonised by fire. In the trench A to B was observed a portion of a coarse description of flooring composed of broken tiles made up with Roman concrete; from its situation it apparently belonged to the buildings connected with the tessellated pavement discovered some three years ago. The usual depth at which the London clay appeared was about 30 feet; and, as much of this had to be removed for the purpose of ensuring a good foundation, various objects were exhumed belonging to a period long anterior to the civilization of Rome. Quantities of fossil wood, nodules of iron pyrites, and various fossil shells were seen. Of the latter a few have been preserved as relics. They are described by my friend Mr. F. G. H. Price, F.G.S. as being specimens of *Fusus bifasciatus*, *Pyrula Smithii*, *Cryptodon Goodhalli*, *Dentalium anceps*, and a variety of *Pleurotoma*.

Of the vast number of antiquities which have been discovered the collection of pottery is perhaps the most varied and abundant. As articles of universal requirement, fictile vessels are always plentiful among the *débris* of places which have been inhabited for a lengthened period; and the enormous quantities of broken vessels which have now been found may be well explained by the convenience of the brook as a receptacle for the fractured plates and dishes ordinarily used by the inhabitants of Roman London. The familiar bright red pottery termed Samian is generally plentiful at excavations within the limits of the City; and in the collection now brought together it is doubtless possible to select suffi-

cient for the illustration of almost every form of vessel that is known. In quality, too, there is the same infinite variety and an indication of the difficulty which there must ever be in assigning the manufacture of this particular class of ware to any especial locality. "No question," writes Mr. S. Birch, F.S.A.* "has excited more controversy among antiquaries than the place where it was made: Samos, Arretium, Rome, Modena, ancient Gaul, and Britain (into which it seems to have been imported) have been supposed to be the sites of its manufacture." He quotes also the passage in Pliny which refers to eight of the principal places noted for its fabrication, and how among them Arretium or Arezzo was famous for its dinner-services, and Surrentum, on the eastern coast of the Bay of Naples, for its drinking cups. Mr. Roach Smith, F.S.A. has always been of the opinion that it was imported into Britain, strengthening his belief upon the circumstance of potteries for Samian ware having been found in France in the immediate vicinity of the Rhine, and on the numerous potters' names of Gaulish origin, which are identical with many that have been observed upon the ware discovered in this country. No trace either of any pottery that can be assigned to its manufacture has been yet recorded as having been found in Britain. The discoveries in the Upchurch marshes by the banks of the Medway have sufficiently indicated the local manufacture of other descriptions of earthenware, and the researches of the late Mr. Artis at Castor, near Peterborough, revealed the existence of potteries to the extent of upwards of twenty miles, which had once been employed in the fabrication of the characteristic Durobrivian ware; but it does not appear that any remains have been yet noticed that are sufficient to establish the conclusion that the peculiar class of pottery before us is of native manufacture. On the other hand it is difficult to believe that such a branch of industrial art should be so neglected in a mixed community as that of the inhabitants of Roman Britain as to render it necessary for the most fashionable ware in use to be imported from abroad; for we find the various trades and professions practised in Italy flourishing in London, Wroxeter, Silchester, and other important cities of this distant province of the empire. Artificers of all kinds and from every nation must have been here and earned their livelihood, as now, from the exercise of their craft; the material was at hand, and experiment has proved that from the clay beds of London such descriptions can be selected as are in every way suitable for the production of this pottery. So extensively was it used, and so varied is it in its form and character, that numerous reasons could be assigned

* *Ancient Pottery and Porcelain*, ii. 347. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 12—46.

for the belief that much of it at least may be attributed to the potters of Roman Britain as to those at work in the more remote factories in Gaul.

The finer descriptions possess certain peculiarities; they are generally thin in substance, hard and extremely brittle. The best variety has been compared to "sealing wax," and is coated with a magnificent glaze, which appears to defy all attempts at imitation. It is described by M. Brongniart* as being produced by silica rendered fusible by the introduction of an alkali, either potash or soda, and colored by a metallic oxide which formed a part of the primitive paste. He considers also that the vessels may have been dipped into a slip which held this substance in suspension. This was probably the case, because examples occasionally appear where the glazing is not uniform and a portion of the vessel has escaped the coating. We have two or three specimens in the present collection where the vessel has been only glazed upon one side, and a portion of the liquid has splashed or run over upon the other. It may be observed upon the inside of some of the Etruscan vases. There are several specimens also of the finer ware which will well repay examination. They resemble more than any other the pottery which is usually assigned to the ancient factories at Aretium in Italy. The ornamentation and design are very similar, and it is probable that this locality provided the copies from which much of our Samian ware has been derived. Pliny tells us how in his day Samian pottery was esteemed, and at the same time refers to the high standard of that provided by Aretium.† Mr. Thomas Wright, F.S.A.‡ observes, that Isidore of Seville, writing at the end of the sixth century, refers to the red pottery of Arezzo, and also to Samian ware, expressing a doubt as to the locality which produced the latter, so that it was probably made under that name in different parts of Roman Europe.

The brittle character of this pottery was sufficiently proverbial to call for an illustration by Plautus in his play of *Menæchmus*.§ One of the individuals in requesting another to be cautious when knocking at the door is met with the rejoinder, "I fancy you are afraid that the doors are made of Samian ware."

M. Placide pulta. *P.* Metuis, credo, ne fores Samiæ sint.

And again in the *Bacchides* || of this writer, in reference to a female born at

* *Traité des Artes Céramiques*, tome i. p. 545.

† See Pliny, N. H. xxxv. c. 46.

‡ *The Celt, Roman, and Saxon*, p. 216. See also Fabroni's work, *Storia degli Antichi Vasi fittili Aretini*, for illustrations of this pottery.

§ *Menæchmus*, Act i. scene 2.

|| *Bacchides*, Act ii. scene 5.

Samos, one of the characters is made to say, "Pray take heed that no one handle her without care, for thou knowest that a Samian vessel is quickly broken."

Vide quæso, ne quis tractet illam indiligens;
Seis tu, ut confringi vas cito Samium solet.

Some descriptions are much more brittle than others, and it is no uncommon thing to find pieces which have been mended by rivets and metal clasps. This at least indicates the high value once set upon this ware and the estimation in which a favourite vessel was held by the possessor. In the present collection are several illustrations of these rivets; many are models of neatness while others are especially rude and clumsy in their form. In one instance which, as far as we know, is unique the rivet has been worked over upon its inner surface with a metallic substance which gives it an appearance similar to our electro-gilding. It is an interesting example of the antiquity of the present fashionable practice of metal plating.

Plautus* speaks of the use of Samian vases in religious ceremonies, and Cicero† repeats that the *simplicia* and *capedines* of the priests were of the same ware; but under the Empire this seems to have been discontinued. Juvenal remarks upon the Romans not using silver at their tables, but taking their meals from the earthenware of Arezzo:

Argenti quod erat solis fulgebat in armis.
Ponebant igitur Tusco farrata catino.—Sat. xi. 108—111.

Fashions, however, in this respect appear to have varied; at some periods we find the use of earthenware to have been in vogue with the aristocracy, at others, says the satirist, its use was a reproach. "Fictilibus cœnasse pudet," says Juvenal, writing of the days of Domitian. At Rome, he says, a man is ashamed to dine off earthenware, which he will make no scruple about if you set him down among the hardy Marsians and Sabines.‡ In the life of Claudius we read that Vinus, who dined with him one day, stole a silver cup; the emperor invited him for the next day, but ordered earthenware to be set before him instead of plate.§ In later times the use of fictile vessels for eating and drinking appears to have become universal, and we find them distributed in profusion among all the European provinces of the Empire.

In the annexed examples we have illustrations of prevailing forms, and in

* Cap. ii. 114.

† De Nat. de Or. iii. 17.

‡ Satire iii. 165 *et seq.*

§ Tacitus, II. i. 48, and Suetonius, Claud. 32, remark that the cup stolen was of gold.

the collection there are specimens more or less broken of each variety, but sufficient in every case to indicate the forms of the original. Of the respective sizes of these vessels it is but necessary to remark that they are of all dimensions, varying from a diameter of 2 inches only by 1 in depth to a width of from 10 to 11 inches. Figs. 1, 4, 5, 10, and 11 are the most uncommon. Every illustration of fig. 4 which we possess has the peculiarity of being glazed, but on one side only, while with the others the glaze is uniformly spread over the entire vessel. Fig. 11 is extremely rare. The more usual designs are figs. 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12, and on these there generally appear the potters' names stamped in the inside on a label across the bottom. The formula of the inscription differs. Sometimes the name is put in the nominative case and followed by *P* or *FE* for *fecit*, made; in other cases, perhaps the most common, the name is given in the genitive case, and is accompanied by *O* or *OF* for *officina*, from the workshop, or *M* or *MA* for *manu*, by the hand, either before or after the name.* A very large number of such names have been now collected, and many of them have not yet been attentively examined; but in the list hereafter appended will be observed several additions to those already published by former writers. Of fig. 10 we have some interesting fragments. The mouth of a lion's head usually serves as a spout, and the inside of the vessel is studded with siliceous particles for the purposes of trituration. Fig. 12, of which we possess half a vessel, has a flattened rim, and is thus of a novel form. It is impressed with the letters *ALBVC. P.* The ornamented vessels form the most interesting division of this pottery, for, profuse as is its distribution, it seldom happens that we meet with duplicate examples precisely similar in form or detail. There is always a novelty about the disposition of the beautiful scrolls and foliated patterns which might well receive such attention from our decorative artists as is now devoted by modern jewellers to antique types. Of the figured ware the prevailing forms are bowl-shaped, upright, or when not quite perpendicular gradually expanding towards the top. Of each variety we are enabled to give illustrations, those figured in Plates I. II. III. being selected from the most perfect of the specimens now found; besides these there is a large quantity of fragments which will well repay attention. Many of the designs are merely fanciful, but others are taken from the stores of heathen mythology. Hunting scenes are prevalent, and indicate the love of the old Romans for the excitement of the chase. Animals and birds, interspersed with representations of the fruit and foliage of the vine, are often

* See *Uriconium*, by Thomas Wright, F.S.A., p. 221; *Illustrations of Roman London*; and Papers in the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol. iv. by C. Roach Smith, F.S.A.

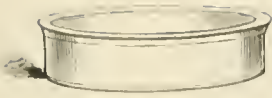


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6.

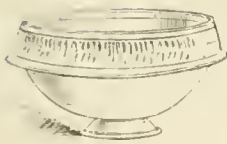


FIG. 7.



FIG. 8.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

RED GLAZED POTTERY

seen ; and illustrations of the sports and combats of the arena are among the most favoured of the subjects which are introduced. On a fragment of one of the upright bowls we have the closing scene depicted of a gladiatorial fight. In this case the figures are distinct, and not seen together as they often are. The victor is armed with a curved sword, has his shield uplifted, and is prepared to strike. The other figure, similarly armed, is kneeling, and imploring mercy at the hands of the spectators ; for those who wished his death would turn their thumbs towards their breasts, as a signal to his opponent to stab him ; others, who would spare his life, turned their thumbs downwards, as a signal for dropping the sword.* Another fragment of a similar bowl bears upon it the subject shown by the annexed cut. It appears as a variety of the well-known illustration of that particular form of combat practised by the *retiarius* and *secutor* of ancient times. Figures of musicians are favourite subjects, and are well represented in the collection. On some fragments we observe a votary of Bacchus or Cybele in the act of clashing the cymbals : on the other appear well-drawn figures, seated in a chair, and engaged in the occupation of playing upon the lyre.



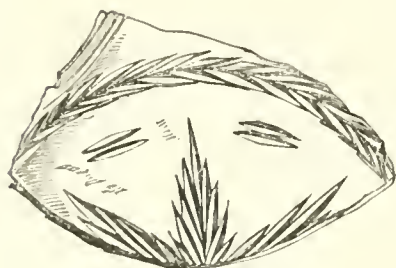
As an example of the selection of subjects from the fables of ancient days, we append one of a novel character. It happens to be very roughly executed on this particular piece of pottery, but it is sufficient for identification. It clearly indicates the seventh fable of Æsop, viz. that of the wolf and the crane. We have also two other fragments which call for special notice ; one is most uncommon, if not unique. It portrays a performer attired like a juggler of modern times. He is in the act of skipping, for the object he holds by both hands can hardly represent anything else but a rope. In the other illustration we see something equally curious. The two figures do not resemble combatants, but appear to be

* See Juvenal, iii. 36, *Commentary*, by J. B. Mayor, 1872, p. 18.

occupied in some description of game; each seems to hold in his hand a disc or plate, apparently for the purpose of catching an object thrown into the air. The details of this are rough and so badly done that at first sight it might seem to indicate only the uplifted arm of the right-hand figure; but, if so, the proportion would be altogether wrong. And, as the subject is repeated on other fragments, and in every case the object appears sharply defined, as apart from the figure, it may indicate a pastime somewhat analogous to our battledore and shuttlecock.

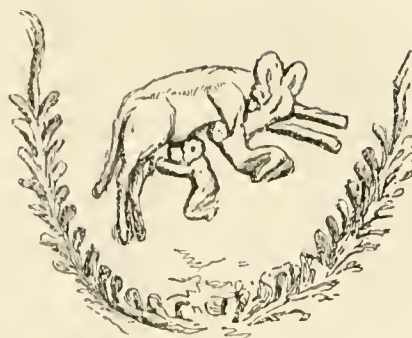


Our next figure is that of a description of Samian which is extremely rare; and out of even our immense collection of pieces there are but one or two fragments of this particular class. It is of similar material to the other, and the glaze is the same, but the ornamentation has been effected by incised lines. No perfect example has yet been found in London, but such are met with on the continent. In the museum of the Corporation of London at Guildhall there are some excellent specimens which came from Cologne. They were formerly in Mr. Gunston's collection. Fig. 1, Plate I., represents



one of the more perfect vases of embossed pottery. It is a vessel $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. It is tastefully decorated with scrolls of foliage surmounted by an engine-turned pattern. Its chief interest is in the form and position of the leaden rivet, which is present, and here shown in the illustration. The other example, fig. 2, is more perfect, is slightly larger, and of a lighter description of ware. The design is a fanciful one; there are representations of birds, and a good illustration of the Roman eagle. In Plate II. we have two most interesting specimens. On fig. 1 may be discerned one of the most popular stories of heathen mythology, viz. the suckling of Romulus and Remus by the wolf. The subject, relieved by fanciful scrolls, is repeated all round the bowl, and is shown

of the actual size in the accompanying woodcut. Upon coins and medals of the late Roman Emperors this subject has frequently been observed, but it does not appear that its illustration is at all familiar upon Roman pottery. Its appearance in sculpture is rare; but it has been found as the chief ornament to a mosaic floor discovered near Aldborough Hall, and which has been well described and illustrated by Mr. H. Eeroyd Smith in a supplement attached to his *Reliquiæ Isurianæ*.



The story is too well known to need repetition, but its treatment deserves some consideration. We learn from Ovid's *Fasti** that a bird assisted in the daily provision of food for the sustenance of the infant twins—

Lacte quis infantes nescit crevisse ferino
Ex Picum expositis sæpe tulisse cibos.

An illustration of this bird may be observed in various compartments situate just above the figure of the wolf, and worked into the design which decorates the main body of the bowl. The figure of this bird so strikingly accords with that upon the plaque of copper bronze found at Moorfields, and formerly in Mr. Roach Smith's Collection, that we have repeated the illustration of the latter for the purpose of comparison.

* Ovid's *Fasti*, lib. iii. l. 53.



This piece of metal is engraved actual size. It was thus shaped by stamping, and afterwards finished by rude chasing and frosted with a punch, and has been apparently affixed to wood. In this object the story is more than usually illustrated by the introduction of the fig-tree—the *rumina ficus*, thus alluded to by Ovid :

Arbor erat, remanent vestigia; quæque vocatur
 Rumina nunc ficus, Romula ficus erat.
 Venit ad expositos (mirum) lupa fœta gemellos.

* * * *

Constitit et cauda teneris blanditur alumnis
 Et fingit lingua corpora bina sua.*

The similarity between the two birds is at once apparent, and their situation indicates a like meaning and intention. This bird, the *Picus* of Ovid, may be considered as a member of the woodpecker family. The story is, that *Picus*, a fabled King of Latium, celebrated for his beauty, was met by Circe, in the woods of Monte Circello, when she became greatly enamoured of him. Mortified at her advances being treated with disdain, she brought her magical arts to bear upon the scornful monarch, who was summarily converted into a woodpecker.

Mr. H. E. Smith, to whom I am indebted for the use of the above woodcut, also kindly lends the following illustrations of coins. One is a Greek colonial piece struck in the reign of Elagabalus, and found at Jerusalem; the others are two reverses of small coins of Constantine.



Small Brass.
 CONSTANTINUS MAGNUS.



Large Brass.
 ELAGABALUS.
 (Found at Jerusalem.)



Small Brass.
 CONSTANTINUS MAGNUS.

* Thus rendered by John Gower, M.A., London, 1610 :—

“ A fig-tree stood, the stump remains this day,
 Then *Rumina*, but now called *Romula*.
 To these poor barns (bairns) there comes a she-wolf wild.

* * * *

She stands and fawns upon the maddling twins,
 And with her tongue licks o’er their tender skins.”

The bowl, which measures 10 inches in diameter by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, has a label across the bottom with the potter's name, MARINVS · F.

Fig. 2 is also a vessel of red glazed ware and of similar dimensions to the above. The design is a conventional pattern dividing certain compartments from each other, in which are depicted hunting scenes. In one we see the dogs in full pursuit of a stag, in another they are chasing rabbits or hares, and, as a central subject, may be observed one of the latter apparently caught by the talons of an eagle. This is of unusual interest from the fact of the position of the hare. It is well known that, like the potters' names, many of these figures were attached to the vessel by the aid of stamps kept ready to hand and of certain prescribed patterns or designs, and that consequently their application would often depend on the humour or fancy of the workman employed, who at times might use his stamp so carelessly as to put in the figures in a reversed position. In Mr. Wright's work on *Uriconium* he repeats the illustration of a well-known fragment of pottery on which this very subject of the eagle and the hare is forcibly depicted. The hare, as now, is in a reversed position, and it is quoted as an instance of the carelessness referred to; but it is a strange coincidence that we should again meet with a repetition of the error. It is true that in the fragment the two figures are distinct, but the attitude of the hare is one of terror or of death. In our own illustration it is apparent that the mould or stamp which produced both eagle and hare is one and the same, and the latter appears as having been caught by, and struggling with, the talons of the eagle. This is probably the true meaning of the figure, and it is worthy of note that among the classic fables of antiquity there is one descriptive of a hare pursued by an eagle resorting to the nest of a hornet. The eagle repulsed the hornet and destroyed the hare. This explanation also harmonizes with the other subjects: the dogs are hunting the stag; in another compartment they are chasing hares or rabbits; in that in question the eagle has caught the hare. The potter's name upon this bowl is OF · MODESTI.

In plate 3 the central figure is that of an upright bowl 6 inches in diameter and 5 inches high. It is nearly perfect, and of a fine description of ware. The taste and elegance of the ornamental scrolls are seen portrayed in the illustration. The other figures are also of interest, but do not call for any special comment. Of imitations of Samian pottery we have interesting specimens: there are examples of that peculiar ware which is full of shining metallic particles, and which is ornamented with the festoon and tassel moulding and other figures so familiar on the Samian.

There are also examples upon which the ornament has been painted. The figure is laid on in white and is intended to imitate the well-known lotos-

leaf ornament. There is a curious fragment of black pottery, a portion of a large vessel formed upon the same model as the shallow red plates or *pateræ*. It possesses a brilliant glaze, and is identical with the Samian ware in all but the colour. It may serve as an illustration to the *patella* of Martial, who humorously refers to "eating a green cabbage on a black plate."

Nigra cauliculus virens patella. V. 78, l. 7.

The potters' names already referred to may be arranged as follows :

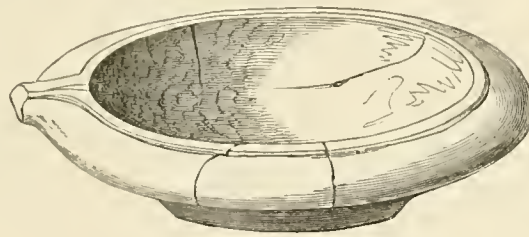
ALBANI.	GEMINI.	PASSIENI.
ALBVCI.	HABILIS.	PRIMVLI.
ALISCO . O.	IVCVNDI.	PATRI.
OF . AQVITA.	LAVRI . O.	OF . PASSEM.
OFIC . BRICAT.	LOGIRNI.	QVIINTII O.
BRA CISILLO.	OF . LICINAA.	RVFINVS.
BELINICI . M.	OF . LVCCEI.	REGINVS.
BVCCVS.	LENTV . F.	ROPPI . RVI . M.
OF . BASSI . CO.	LALLI . MA.	RVTA . FE.
OFIC . BILICAT.	OF . LICINIVS.	OF RVFIN.
CAMBVS . F.	MARTIALIS.	SENICI . O.
CARETEDO . FE.	MASCVLVS . F.	SILVINI . F.
CRACVN.	OF . MASCV.	SITICVLA . F.
CRESTI . O.	MICCTONI . M.	OF . SEVERI.
OF . CRESTIO.	MASCILVS . F.	SECVNDI.
CALLI . M.	OF . MVRRA.	SVA DVLLIYS.
OF . CALVI.	MARINVS . F.	SVOBMI.
CEREALIS.	METTI . M.	SEDATVS.
CESSTILI . M.	NOTIO.	OF . SECV.
FORTIONIS.	OF NIGRI.	TITVRONIS.
OF . FELCIS.*	ONATOS.	TASCILIVS.
GABRILLI . M.	PONE.	TERTIVS.
GERMN.†	OF PVDEN.	SA . VILLI . M.
GEMANSCI.	OF PONTI.	

Plate IV. comprises illustrations of light grey pottery, with two broad-mouthed urns of the well-known Upchurch ware. Of this class we have but few perfect specimens. There are, however, quantities of fragments. Many of them are ornamented in simple patterns, worked in plain or zigzag lines, with small raised projections like spots upon the surface. Among them are designs of a novel

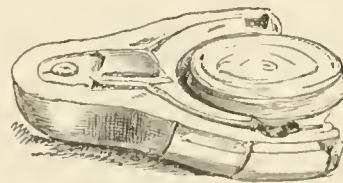
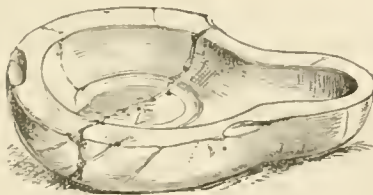
* For Felicis.

† For Germanus.

character, and upon one fragment there appears the name GEMI·OF. This probably is intended for GEMINI, so frequently met with upon the Samian ware. There is also a fragment of light-coloured ware of an unusual kind: upon this there is likewise inscribed the name of the maker, MANERTVS, a name new to the published lists. The large *amphora* has been already referred to. It resembles the globular vessel discovered near Lothbury, and figured by Mr. Smith, also one which was found near Aldermanbury, and is now preserved in the Museum of Practical Geology in Jermyn Street. Such vessels were for the storage of oil or wine, and were frequently of large dimensions. The other specimens figured are of forms adapted to household use, and are of types usually met with upon Roman sites. Before leaving the subject of pottery, we may briefly refer to the *mortaria*, of which several examples have been seen. These were cooking vessels, and they are invariably made from a light-coloured clay, and dispersed across the inner surface is a mixture of pounded tile with siliceous particles for the purpose of resisting the wearing effects of trituration.

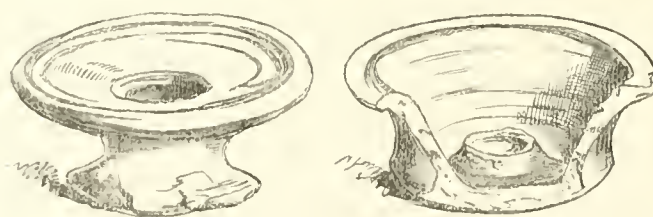


The example figured measures $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep. It does not appear to be inscribed with the potter's name, an addition so frequently observed upon those vessels which are known to have been found in London. Of lamps in clay or terra-cotta we have no examples worthy of illustration. There are one or two fractured specimens, but they require no special description. We figure, however, two curious examples of clay moulds which have been



employed in the fabrication of such lamps. These are of extreme rarity, and, with the exception of the lamp actually discovered in the kiln found by Conyers

in St. Paul's churchyard,* these moulds are the most important evidence we have as to the home manufacture of such matters. Though not belonging to the same mould, the illustrations represent both an upper and lower portion. The latter, which is the larger of the two, measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 5 inches wide; the other is smaller and broken; its width, however, is 4 inches only, and when perfect probably measured about 6 inches long. In one case we have illustrations of the mortices, and in the other the tenons are well defined, thereby indicating the manner in which such moulds were used. Both have evidently been for lamps of large size and of a character superior to those usually met with in city excavations. There is one example of an earthen lamp-stand; it is of black ware, and resembles similar objects formerly in the Roach Smith collection. In addition to clay stands the Romans employed an apparatus of metal for the suspension of these lamps. Mr. Smith possessed a specimen discovered at Nismes. It consisted of chain-work with a stand at the lower extremity, and at the upper an iron fastening, which may serve either as a nail or hook. In this collection there is a good illustration of an iron lamp-stand. This is figured in Plate XI. and is a most perfect specimen. Its height is 9 inches, and the stand itself is but 3 inches long. It is so constructed as to be moveable and turned round if necessity required without having to remove the hook from its position on a nail, spike, or other fastening from which it was suspended. Such metal stands are very rare. A few examples with handles, and formed of lead, have been discovered at York.



The annexed illustration is of two earthenware objects, which are alike uncommon. They are each about 3 inches in diameter and rather more than 2 inches deep: each has a small raised socket in the centre. They are, probably, candlesticks, and seem to be admirably adapted to the purpose. That candles were not unknown to the Romans has been clearly shown by Thomas Wright, F.S.A., in his researches at Uriconium; and in his work he illustrates an

* In the year 1675. See Sloane MSS. British Museum, 958, fol. 105.

example discovered in a Roman lead mine at Shelve Hill. In addition to this there is the testimony of Juvenal, who extols the economy of the poor man endeavouring to be satisfied with his candle and moderate its wick.*

Me, quam luna solet deducere, vel breve lumen
Candelæ, ejus dispenso et tempero filum,
Contempnit.

Such candles were made of wax, pitch, or tallow, and rushes employed as wicks; the forerunners in fact of the rush-lights of our time. Iron candlesticks have been found at Wroxeter; and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March 1867 appears a description by Mr. Smith of an example preserved in the museum at Andover. This he compares with a three-footed candelabrum discovered in Belgium on the site of a Roman villa at Petit Fresin, and published in a recent *Bulletin* of the *Commissions Royales d'Art et d'Archæologie* of Belgium. In this specimen the cup-shaped portion, in which the *candela* was fixed, strikingly accords with our earthenware example.

Plate V. comprises illustrations of a large number of little implements of iron or steel familiarly known as *styli*. This series is but a portion of a large number, and in the selection there may be recognised some highly ornamented forms. They are frequently found in city excavations, their preservation being due to the peculiar character of the soil: in dry sandy situations they would soon perish. They are rarely met with in our provincial museums. At Colchester, a place where Roman remains are abundant, they are seldom seen, and those that have been collected are so worn and perished by oxidation that they are comparatively worthless, whereas in many of those obtained from London we find the rich character of the ornamentation remaining, and the small metal bands with which many are inlaid as fresh and bright as at the time of their fabrication. There is endless variety as to size and form, and of those figured but few will be observed of similar pattern to any of the large number illustrated by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Roman London*. These objects, as is well known, were employed for writing purposes, but that only of a certain kind: small tablets of wood termed *tabellæ* or *pugillares* were coated with a thin layer of wax or similar substance. The point of the *stylus* would serve for writing upon this prepared surface, and the broad flat end be used for smoothing the wax when making erasures or corrections. The tablets were of diminutive size, being adapted for carrying about the person. They were affixed together by strings or wires, and were in

* Satire iii. 286.

reality the note or memorandum books of the time. Some very interesting examples were found in the pit on the site of the Royal Exchange, and are now preserved in the museum at Guildhall. On some of these the marks may still be seen of the cords which bound them together. The *stylus* was not necessarily of iron; sometimes it was made of the precious metals. It could easily be used as a weapon, and it was with his *graphium* that Cæsar stabbed Cassius in the arm when attacked by his murderers; and it is said that Caligula employed an individual to assassinate a senator with the same description of instrument. In the reign of Claudius women and boys were searched to ascertain whether there were *styli* concealed in their *graphiaria thecæ*, or pen-cases.* It is said by Montfaucon† that the practice of converting these objects into weapons becoming so general the material of which they were made was changed by authority from bronze or iron to wood or bone. Of the latter we possess a single example; it is broken, but is of similar form to the metal specimen.

In Plate VI. we figure a specimen of the Roman *pugio*, or dagger. This weapon was shorter than the legionary sword, and was openly worn upon the right side; more particularly by officers in the army and individuals of rank. The blade was broad, ribbed down the centre, two-edged, and terminating in a sharp point. This example measures 10 inches long, and has a wooden handle which is in remarkably good preservation. This handle measures 3 inches in length, and has evidently terminated in some description of ornament, which has unfortunately perished. There is a striking resemblance between this weapon and the bronze daggers which have been found in Ireland and other places.

The other objects figured are a selection of knives; these have not been observed in any considerable quantity, but those we are enabled to illustrate are all remarkably good specimens. There is nothing unusual in their form, and they are probably such as were in daily use. Those with rings attached, evidently for the purpose of suspension, were probably for carrying about, while the others were more particularly connected with the household. For the former purpose fig. 1 is admirably suited; it has two rings, the lower one of iron and the upper one of bronze. Its entire length is 9 inches. Fig. 3 is curious, it is 9 inches long and with its broad blade bears some resemblance to the knives used by the Roman butchers. There are two or three excellent examples of this form. We also figure two specimens with bone handles. One possesses the ring for suspension, it is quite plain; the other is more richly ornamented, but is of a form

* See Dyer's *Pompeii*, p. 535.

† *Antiquité expliquée*, tom. iii. Part 2, p. 357.

that is often met with. Such knives are referred to by the classic writers. In the eleventh satire of Juvenal there occurs a passage thus quaintly rendered by Holyday :

With care
I shun a proud guest then, that does compare
Me with himself, and scorns small means; so free
Am I, from but an inch of ivory,
In chess-board or chess-man, of simple bone
Are my knife handles.

Plate 7. In this illustration we have some fine examples of Roman keys; they are of actual size, and interesting types. Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 5 are of iron, and from the hole or eye at the end of each were all clearly intended for suspension, and were probably carried by the owner hanging from the girdle. Fig. 1 with the projecting teeth bears some resemblance to the *clavis Laconica*,* a particular form of key applied to the *inside* of a door by a person standing *without*, who put his arm through an aperture made expressly for the purpose, and then raised the latch by means of the projecting portion of the key. Fig. 4 is a key of a superior class; it is of iron with the exception of the handle, which is of bronze, and in excellent preservation. In figs. 5 and 6 we see an illustration of the Roman latch-keys, and both are of no uncommon types. Among the discoveries made by Mr. Taylor at Colchester was a key like fig. 6, eight inches long, this also had a hook at one end for suspension. Similar specimens have been found at Hartlip, Wroxeter, and also at Cilurnum, in the north of Britain. Fig. 7 is a bolt belonging to the Roman lock. The manner in which it was used is difficult to describe; but examples resembling this specimen in form have been found at Colchester in connection with other portions of the locks, and are preserved in the interesting collection of antiquities in the possession of Mr. George Joslin. Our specimen is apparently of lead, but it is very hard, and possibly of a mixed metal.

Plates 8, 9, and 10 represent a miscellaneous collection chiefly composed of brooches, personal ornaments, and toilette implements. The series of *fibulae* resemble others which are recorded as having been found within the city, and present no unusual characteristics. They are, with the exception of fig. 9, which is of iron, all made of bronze, and the most part of the bow-shaped form. Fig. 3 has been richly ornamented with blue enamel, and is one of the rarer forms. The greater number of the specimens are in good preservation, and in many instances the pin, which, moving on a hinge, illustrates the principle of the

* Rich's *Companion to the Latin Dictionary*, p. 174.

modern safety pin, retains its action as a spring. The figure of the animal indicated by fig. 10 is well executed. It is inlaid with a blue enamel, and is an interesting object of its class. There is also a broken specimen of a bracelet or *armilla*. It is in two pieces, the twisted portion is moveable, and was probably for the purpose of adjusting it for wear. The small seal in the corner is curious, and has a forcible resemblance to the inscribed seals which until recently were so universally worn. The stone is plain, but the mode of twisting the wire and the ornament below alike bespeak its origin. The two bronze boxes or locket are interesting; both objects are shown of actual size; the circular one has been ornamented by a simple pattern chased upon the lid, but the other has been beautifully enriched by a blue enamel inserted between broad brass ribs or bands. In this appear circular ornaments having a radiating pattern in figures of white and black.



These objects, which are found heart-shaped, circular, and square, remind us of our modern *vinaigrettes*, and they are considered by Mr. Smith to have been used for perfumes, and to have been worn or carried upon the person.* Mr. Thomas Layton, F.S.A. of Kew Bridge, possesses one of the circular pattern which was found near Bucklersbury; it is shown in the above cut. Upon the lid is the figure of an eagle displayed, and the three small apertures in the base would seem to indicate a use for scent or perfume. Fig. 1 on Plate IX.



is an example of the *coltella* or tweezers generally used for plucking out hair by the roots. They are frequently found, and were probably necessary adjuncts to the toilet. They are sometimes met with associated with an ear-pick and nail-cleaner, as in the example figured, and which is now in the collection of my friend Mr. F. G. H. Price, F.G.S. The specimen is of the same mixed metal of which such objects are usually composed. The fops of Roman times also used depilatories made up in the form of resinous plasters. Figs. 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, illustrate the diminutive bronze spoons termed *ligula*. It is presumed that they also appertain to the toilet, and were employed for extracting unguents or prepared oils from the long-necked vessels so generally

* See *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 129. The enamelled specimen is now in the collection of Mr. F. G. H. Price, F.G.S.

known as "tear-bottles." Many of these objects in this collection are richly ornamented. They also are of bronze, and most of them when found were of a bright gold colour. They all afforded indications of having been acted upon by fire. Fig. 6 shows an ear-pick, and 11 and 15 are bronze pins, and probably examples of the *acus crinalis* or hair-pin ordinarily used by women for passing through their back hair after it had been plaited or turned up. A large variety of such have been found in London, and at Pompeii numbers of fanciful patterns and designs, which may be seen figured in the *Museo Borbonico*, ix. 15.

Figs. 16 and 17 are bronze egg-spoons, or examples of the *cochlear*. This object has a bowl at one end, and at the other a sharp point. They were not only employed in eating eggs, but for cockles, periwinkles, snails, and for extracting fish from the shell. Their use is thus identified by Martial:—

Sum cochleis habilis sed nec minus utilis ovis,
Numquid scis potius cur cochleare vocer.*

They are often found of bone, and occasionally of silver; of the latter metal a specimen is figured by Mr. Roach Smith in his *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver, and Lynne*. In connection with this particular class of spoon there were superstitions among the Romans which have left traces of their existence to the present time. In some country places after eating eggs it is customary to pierce the shell as a protection against witchcraft. Sir Thomas Browne writes that the intent was, "lest witches should draw or prick their names thereon, and veneficiously mischief their persons, they broke the shell." This custom singularly accords with Pliny, who says that to avoid being spell-bound by means of evil imprecations there was a practice, after eating snails or eggs, to immediately break the shells or pierce them with a spoon.† Figs. 1 and 7 on Plate X. are objects which require explanation. The first is of bronze, with rings at the end for suspension to the girdle. The other is of iron, and has also a loop for a similar purpose; both have been termed *spatulæ*, but this is not satisfactory. The small ring in the flat portion of the iron specimen is against such an application. Upon this plate are also figured examples of bronze chain-work which are of elegant patterns and design. Fig. 11 is of especial

* Epigram, lib. xiv. 51.

† Pliny, N. H., book 28. See also Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, iii. 19.

interest; the arrangement of the links is such as is frequently seen in the chain-work attached to our modern chandeliers, and which has been thought to be an invention of the present day. These objects are all shown of the actual



size. As a further illustration of chain-work we may here refer to the iron manacle figured on Plate XI. which is drawn to a scale of about two-thirds the size of the original. But a small portion of the chain itself is indicated, the entire object measuring nearly 4 feet in length. The mode of adapting the circular portion to the wrist of the individual is at once apparent, and, when fixed, it would bear a striking resemblance to an example which, copied from a Roman bas-relief, is figured by Mr. Rich in his Companion to the Latin Dictionary. In this exceedingly useful work there is also reference to an ancient chain now preserved as a sacred relic in the Church of S. Pietro in Vinculis at Rome, and which gave its title to the Church, for it is there said to be the identical one with which St. Peter was chained in the *Tutlianum* or Servian prison. In this object the portion for fastening to the wrist or ankle bears a great resemblance to the specimen now found.

Plate XII. The coins here selected for illustration are from a number of nearly seventy specimens, the majority of which are in good preservation. They all belong to what is known as the best period of Roman history, and to some extent they afford an indication of the age to which these recent discoveries belong. One of the most important uses to which coins can be applied when the circumstances of their discovery on a particular site is beyond question is in approximating dates. Of this series we have nothing later than the reign of Antoninus Pius; to this period, ranging from the time of Claudius, the chronological sequence is unbroken; and this abrupt cessation is sufficient for the assumption that our site formed part of the first Roman settlement, and that most of the relics found at the extreme depth of the excavations are as early as the close of the second century of our era. Coins also are frequently of great interest in their illustration of portraiture or costume. Among those figured may be traced the characteristic features of Claudius, Nero, Domitian, and Hadrian, which have been so vividly described by their classic biographers. The coin of Antonia, daughter of Antony the triumvir and wife of Drusus, presents a dignified portrait: on the reverse her figure appears as a priestess; and on a beautiful example which we have of the *macellum* of Nero there is well depicted

the form of the market-place at Rome. With few exceptions the coins are all of the size known as second-brass and most of them of copper; some are of that bright light-coloured metal which in circulation was of double value. The entire series has been submitted to my friend Mr. Roach Smith for examination; he tells me that they are all of well-known types, and with characteristic kindness has been good enough to arrange them in the following order for publication.

The illustrative plate has been fac-similed in lithography from the accurate drawings of Mr. John G. Waller.

AGRIPPA. B.C. 13 to B.C. 9.

Reverse.

s. c. Neptune standing.

CLAUDIUS. A.D. 41 to A.D. 54.

Reverses.

s. c. Pallas.—CERES AVGVSTA—LIBERTAS AVGVSTA.

ANTONIA.

Reverse.

TI. CLAVDIUS CAESAR . P. M. TR. P. IMP. Fig. 13.

GERMANICUS.

Reverse.

SIGNIS RECEPT . DEVICTIS GERM.

NERO. A.D. 50 to A.D. 68.

Reverses.

VICTORIA AVGVSTI . s. c. Fig. 8.—GENIO AVGVSTI. Fig. 7.—SECVRITAS AVG. Fig. 9.—MAC AVG. the *Macellum* or Market-place at Rome. Fig. 11.—Victory with globe. Fig. 6.

VESPASIAN. A.D. 69 to A.D. 79.

Reverses.

SECVRITAS AVGVSTI—AEQVITAS AVG.—Victory with globe.—FIDES PVBLICA—PROVIDENT . s. c.—An altar. Fig. 12.—An eagle on a globe s. c. Fig. 14.

DOMITIAN. A.D. 79 to A.D. 96.

Reverses.

MONETA AVGVSTI.—FORTUNA AVGVSTI. Fig. 10.

NERVA. A.D. 96 to A.D. 98.

IMP. NERVA CAES . AVG . GERM . P . P. Fig. 3. *See copy.*

TRAJAN. A.D. 98 to A.D. 117.

Reverses.

Senatus Populus Que Romanus. Fort. Red. Seated figure with cornucopia.

SPQR . OPTIMO PRINCIPI.

HADRIAN. A.D. 117 to A.D. 138.

Reverses.

Type of Abundance (large brass). Type of Hope (large brass).

MONETA AVGVSTI . SC. Fig. 2.—Salus. See copy.—COS III TI (Virtuti) AVGVSTI.

ANTONINUS PIUS. A.D. 138 to A.D. 161.

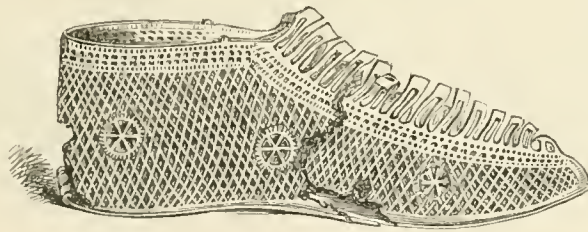
LIBERTAS . PM . TR . POT. Fortune with rudder and horn.

There is also a silver consular coin of the Postumia family: obverse, Head of Diana; reverse, A · POST · A · F · ALBIN, a priest about to sacrifice a bull; a denarius of Vespasian, TRIB · POT, and a like coin of Trajan having on its reverse a figure of Victory on the prow of a galley (fig. 1); a small coin of Nero, PONTIF · MAX · TR · P · IMP · P · P, and of the same emperor, the obverse side of a large brass. This coin has been cut in two and affixed to something as an ornament. There is a hole in the centre through which the rivet or other fastening was passed. Mr. Smith reminds me that in the *Inventorium Sepulchrale** there is an illustration of a copper coin of Nero as so attached to an iron fragment of horse-gear. This was discovered in one of the Saxon graves examined by the late Rev. Bryan Faussett at Gilton Town in Kent. The coin is similar to our example: both represent the head of the emperor laureated on one side, with the legend, IMP · NERO · CLAUDIUS · CAESAR · AVG · GERM · Roman coins were frequently appropriated as ornaments in Saxon times.

Of miscellaneous objects there is a large collection: for example, fragments of glass, wooden spindles used in spinning wool or flax, portions of horse-gear, hinges, clench-bolts, chisels, and a large variety of tools and implements of iron, the use of which it is impossible to explain, and their application can only be determined by the recognition by observers of some particular class of instrument used in the profession or trade with which they may happen to be acquainted. Many such tools as are used by the artificers of our time are probably of remote antiquity. That some among various branches of trade were followed in much the same manner as they now are is evidenced by the leather-work that has been found. The practical details of shoemaking, for example,

* *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 27.

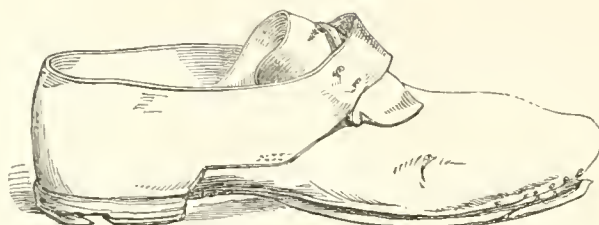
can have changed but little—we have “heels,” “soles,” and “uppers,” of similar form to those now worn. We observe also the same distinction as to rights and lefts, and many of the shoes that have been discovered have a wonderfully modern aspect as regards their general appearance. The most interesting variety is the *crepida* or sandal; this is formed of two or three distinct layers of leather of the size of the sole with another between sufficiently large to be turned up on either side, and then slashed or stamped in various ornamental patterns. The respective layers were held together by large nails firmly clenched upon the inside and without any appearances of stitching. In other specimens, however, we observe that the soles have been attached to the uppers by the latter process. The heads of the nails are often very large, and the sole is to be seen completely studded with them. In the ornamented sides there were eyes or loops to enable them to be tied across the instep by means of strings or cords. There are likewise some fragmentary specimens which more resemble the *caliga* or military shoe: these served as a protection to the feet, and the sole was generally covered with the large round or oblong heads of the nails by which it was attached to the upper leather. Juvenal refers to such nails. He warns the people not to dispute with the military, as, if kicked, as he humorously adds, an individual has but two legs, as exposed to thousands of shoe-nails.* In the annexed cut we illus-



trate a highly ornamental sandal which has been found. It differs from any figured by Mr. Roach Smith, who was the first to fully illustrate these singular relics. The stamped-out pattern, relieved by a small circular ornament, is extremely elegant, and many of the small *ansæ*, or eyes, through which passed the fastening strap (*amentum*), are well preserved. The other cut is of a shoe of quite another form. It is apparently intended to cover the entire foot, and will illustrate the *calceus*, a shoe or boot which, as now, was made upon a last. On either side are lappets for fastening across the instep by means of strings. An example from a Pompeian painting, figured by Mr. Rich, is remarkably like our illustration.

* *Satire* xvi. l. 22.

We have also some specimens remaining of the thongs or laces. In one case there is one tied in a knot, just as left by the wearer more than fifteen centuries ago.



Another object of interest is a large quern, or millstone. It is the upper portion, and measures $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter by about 7 inches high. It has on either side the aperture, or hopper, two holes in which iron handles would be



placed when using. Such would be worked by two persons who faced each other, both grasping the handles, while the one with the right hand disengaged would throw in the corn into the hole in the upper stone. The material of which this quern is formed is lava, plentiful in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, where the material is quarried for the fabrication of millstones to the present time. They are frequently found on Roman sites, and in London many examples have been recovered. At Tower Hill, Bishopsgate Street,* Princes Street, Watling Street,

* There are specimens from this locality preserved in the Museum of Antiquities at Guildhall. They are of volcanic stone, flat, very thin in substance, and resemble two stones in the British Museum, which

and St. Martin's-le-Grand good specimens have been found. Varying in form, size, and the quality of stone, they are mostly of the same character as those so frequently referred to by the authors of antiquity. In Holy Scripture references to their use abound.* Severe as must have been the labour, it appears to have been usually conducted by women or by slaves. Samson was put to grind corn in the prison-house—

To grind in brazen fetters under task,
Eyeless at Gaza, at the mill with slaves.—MILTON.

So, too, did the Hebrews during their captivity in Egypt and Babylon. The grinders are said to have performed their labours in the morning, grinding a supply for the day, and sitting behind their mills. It was the same in Greece in the time of Homer, who employs fifty females in the house of Alcinous in this service.† In Arabia and the Holy Land they are still in use, and travellers tell us that in Philistia it is customary to hear the hum of the hand-mill at every village and Arab camp morning and evening, and often deep into the night. The Romans possessed in addition corn-mills turned by mules and asses. Some of these, discovered among the remains at Pompeii, are not less than 6 feet high.‡ Mr. Roach Smith figures one found at Orleans,§ and they may be seen on bas-reliefs and other monuments. That however in ordinary use was the *mola manuarum*. Plautus is said to have obtained a livelihood by working for a baker at a hand-mill, and to have composed three of his comedies while so employed. The custom of parching the grain before grinding, which has extended into later times, is mentioned by Virgil in the Georgics, book i. 267.

Nunc torrete igni fruges, nunc frangite saxo.

There have been also found in these excavations two or three specimens of fir-cones, which, excluded from the air, have retained their form and character sufficiently for identification. Similar objects have frequently been found among

were found together near the river Breamish, and adjacent to an ancient hill-fort at Prendwick among the Cheviot hills; of this type there is a small one about 8 inches in diameter which was found at Colchester, and the top stone of a quern discovered at Dumno, near St. Andrew's, Scotland. This is flat, of schistose stone, and a good deal worn away at the edge.

* Matthew, xxiv. 41; Judges, xvi. 21; Lamentations, v. 13; Exodus, xi. 5; Isaiah, xlvii. 2; Revelations, xviii. 22.

† Dyer's *Pompeii*, p. 357.

‡ Dyer's *Pompeii*, p. 356.

§ *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. iv. p. 26.

Roman remains, but the mere mention of the circumstance has hitherto been all the attention they have received. In the Catalogue of Antiquities discovered on the site of the Royal Exchange, the finding of some few specimens is recorded, but no explanation of their presence has been attempted. One of our finest specimens was so perfect when found, and the seed-vessels so well preserved, that we submitted it to the inspection of Mr. Richard Kippist, Librarian to the Linnean Society, who at once recognised it as the fruit of the *pinus pinea*, or stone pine; and in an illustration of this tree, which occurs in the large work published in 1803 by A. B. Lambert, F.R.S., the seed-vessels which are figured are identical with those of our present specimen. In his description we read that the cones are large, nearly ovate, and often four and a half inches long; that the nuts are hard and contain kernels which have the sweetness of almonds; and that a pleasant oil may be obtained by expression. The species is one principally cultivated on account of its foliage and the excellence of its fruit, which last is still an article of sale in England, and may be procured in several of our London fruit shops. This tree is said to have been introduced into England in the year 1548, and that it would flower in a London climate towards the latter end of May or beginning of June. We see however, from the frequent discovery of these nuts, that their use in this country has extended from Roman times, and that the existing practice of using the kernels in our kitchens on account of their flavouring properties is a relic of antiquity. In Mr. Coote's interesting paper, *On the Cuisine Bourgeoise of Ancient Rome*,* he cites various passages from ancient authors descriptive of these nuts. As sauce for boiled fish Apicius recommends pepper, lovage, cummin, ciboule (or button onion), marjoram, *pine nuts*, dates, honey, vinegar, &c. As a relish with "roast boar" roasted pine nuts are included with other matters for a sauce; with "boiled pig" too this *Soyer* of the time includes pine nuts in his recipe—with many other references to their use. The presence, therefore, among the remains of Romano-British homes of these singular objects may be easily understood.

With this brief reference to a large number of miscellaneous relics it becomes necessary to close these observations; and in so doing I would express the gratification I have experienced in having the opportunity afforded for watching the excavations from the commencement. There can be no question but that much has been overlooked, and that, had circumstances permitted, a more accurate investigation would have been of value and importance. With the rapidity with

* *Archæologia*, vol. xli.

which such a large quantity of earth has to be excavated and removed, and the dangers consequent on delay, there must naturally be a large number of objects which escape detection, besides those which find their way to other hands. Such are conditions which must ever exist unless an excavation in the city be undertaken *solely* on antiquarian grounds. This has never yet been done. We institute researches abroad, sometimes on doubtful sites, and critically examine every shovel-full of earth, often with no certain prospect of reward; but in a comparatively small space situate at home, and illustrative alike of the origin and progressive growth of this the chief city of the empire, sufficient interest has never yet been manifested to induce a properly organised investigation of any given site. If in the small area occupied by the premises of the National Safe Deposit Company it has been possible to bring together so many illustrations of the early occupation of our city, who can say what yet remains beneath the surface of adjacent sites to corroborate or correct opinions which have been expressed both by past and present writers on the history of Roman London?

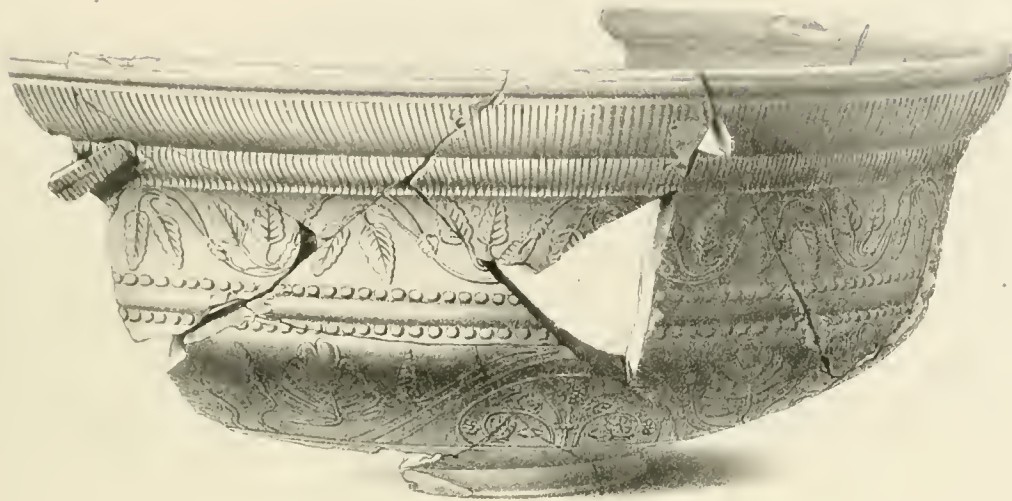


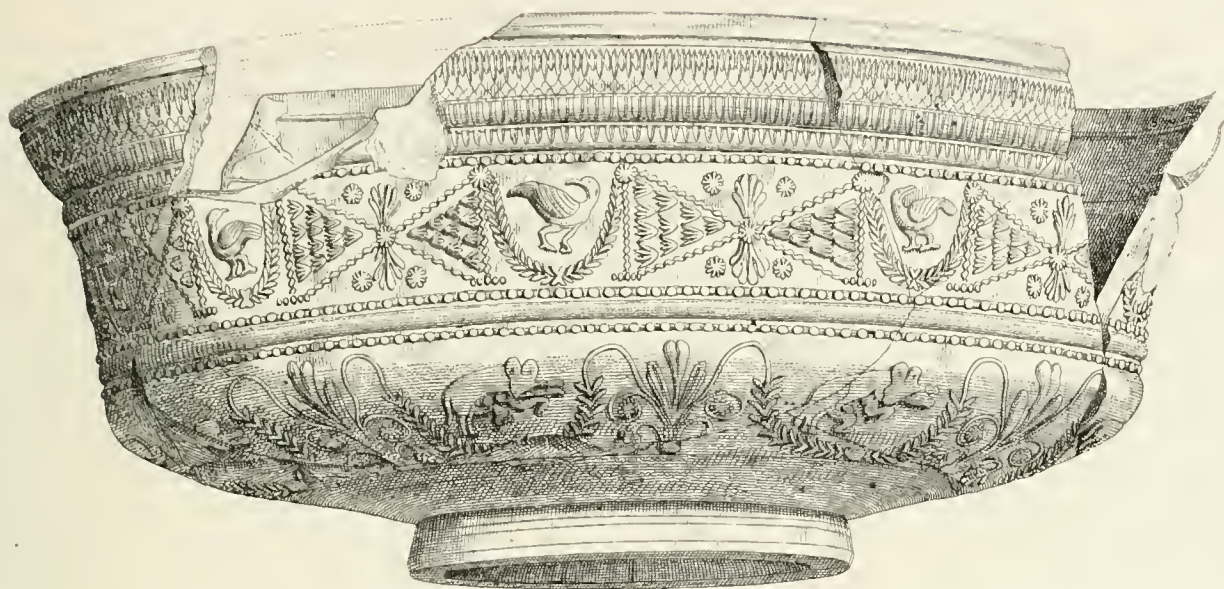
Fig 1



Fig. 2.

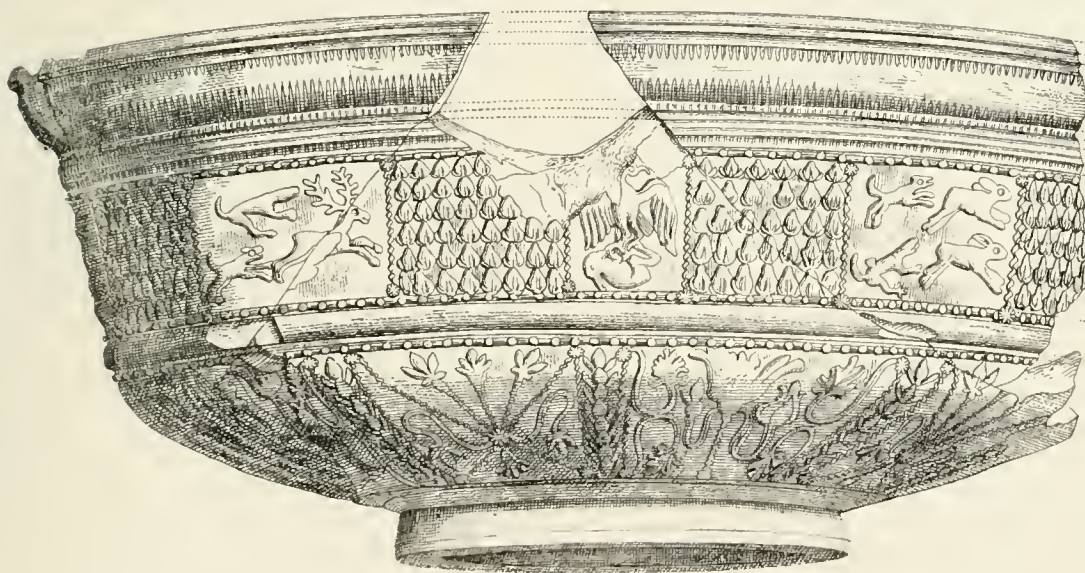
RED GLAZED POTTERY

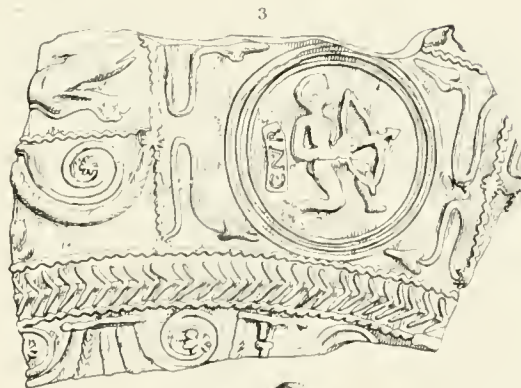
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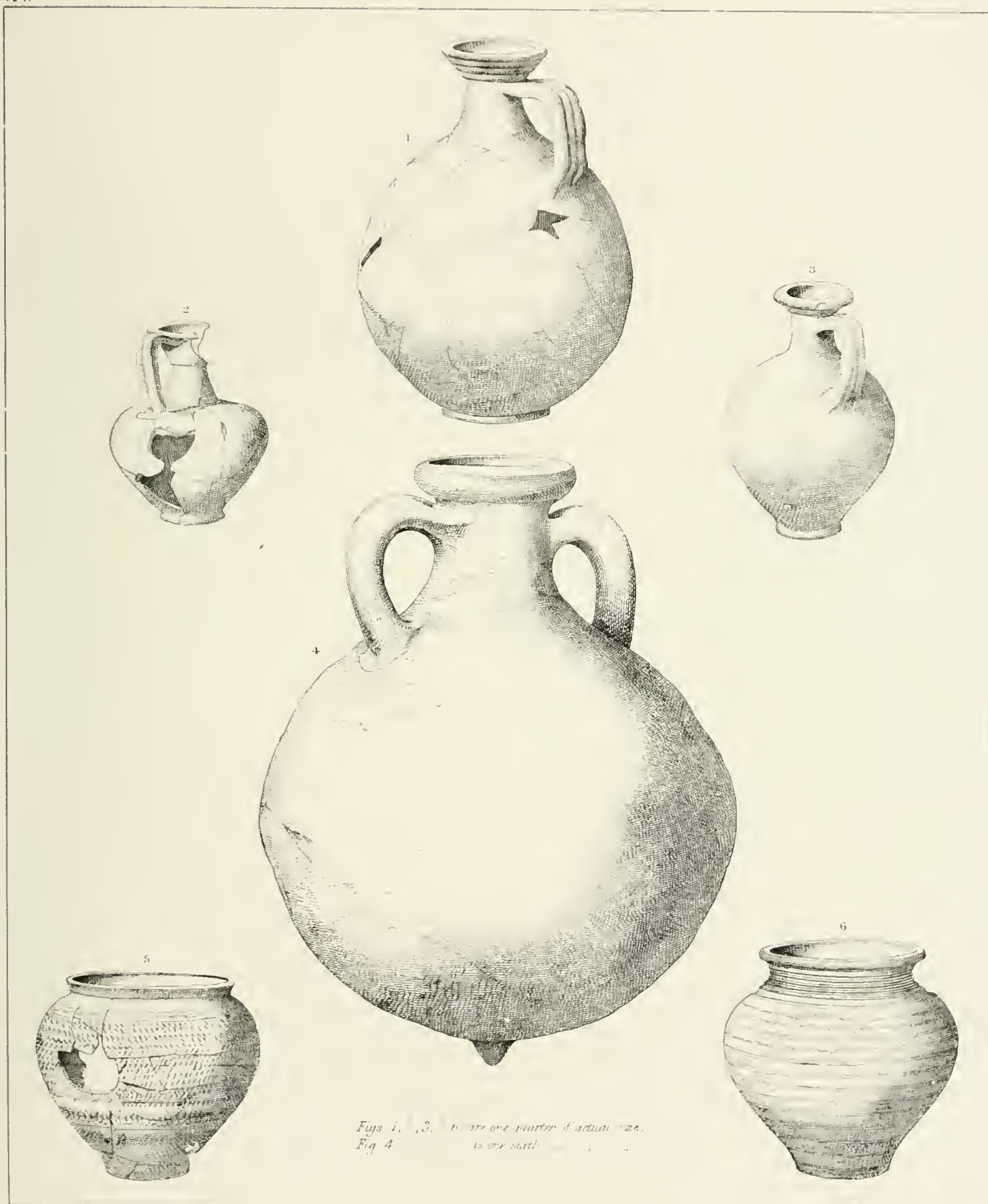
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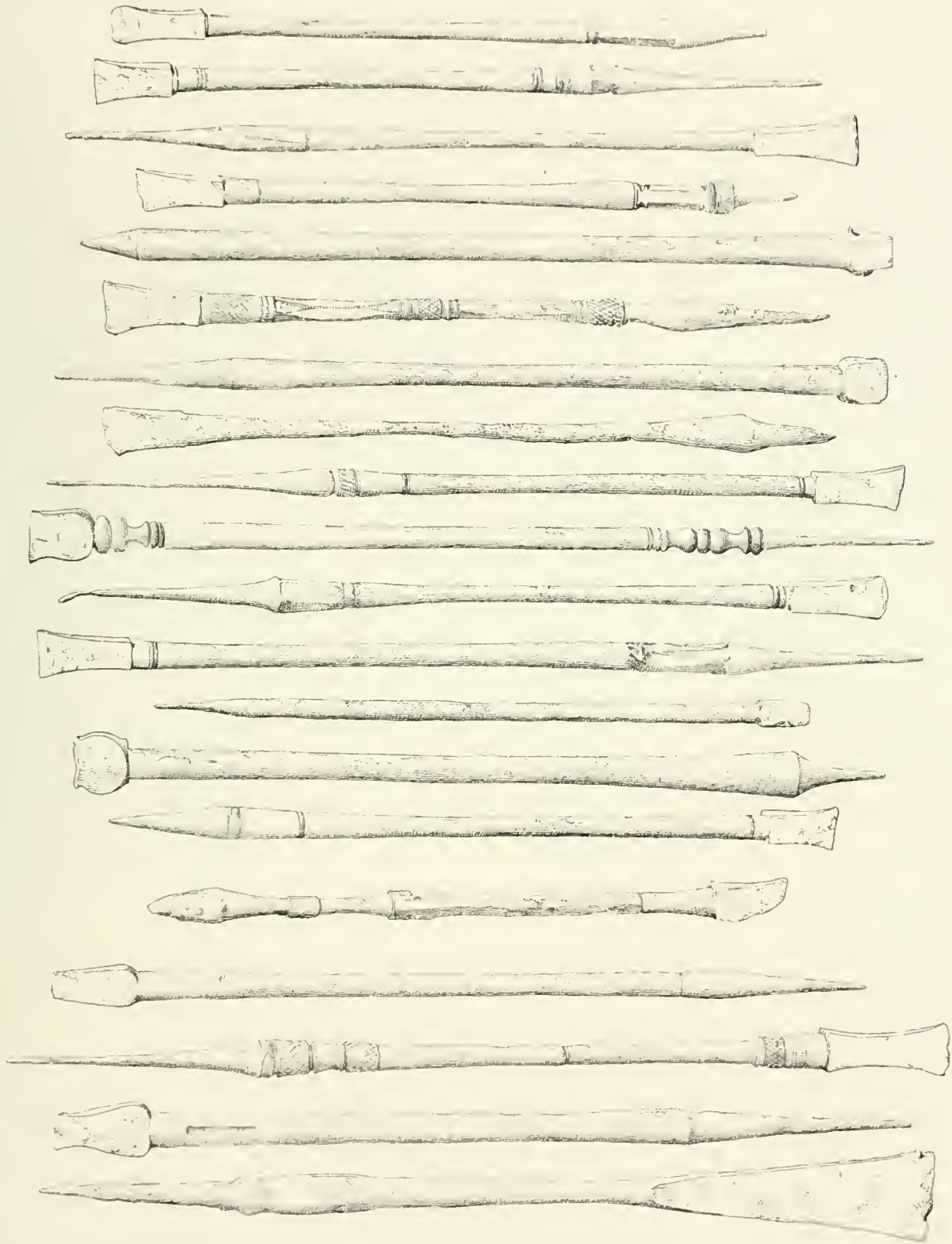
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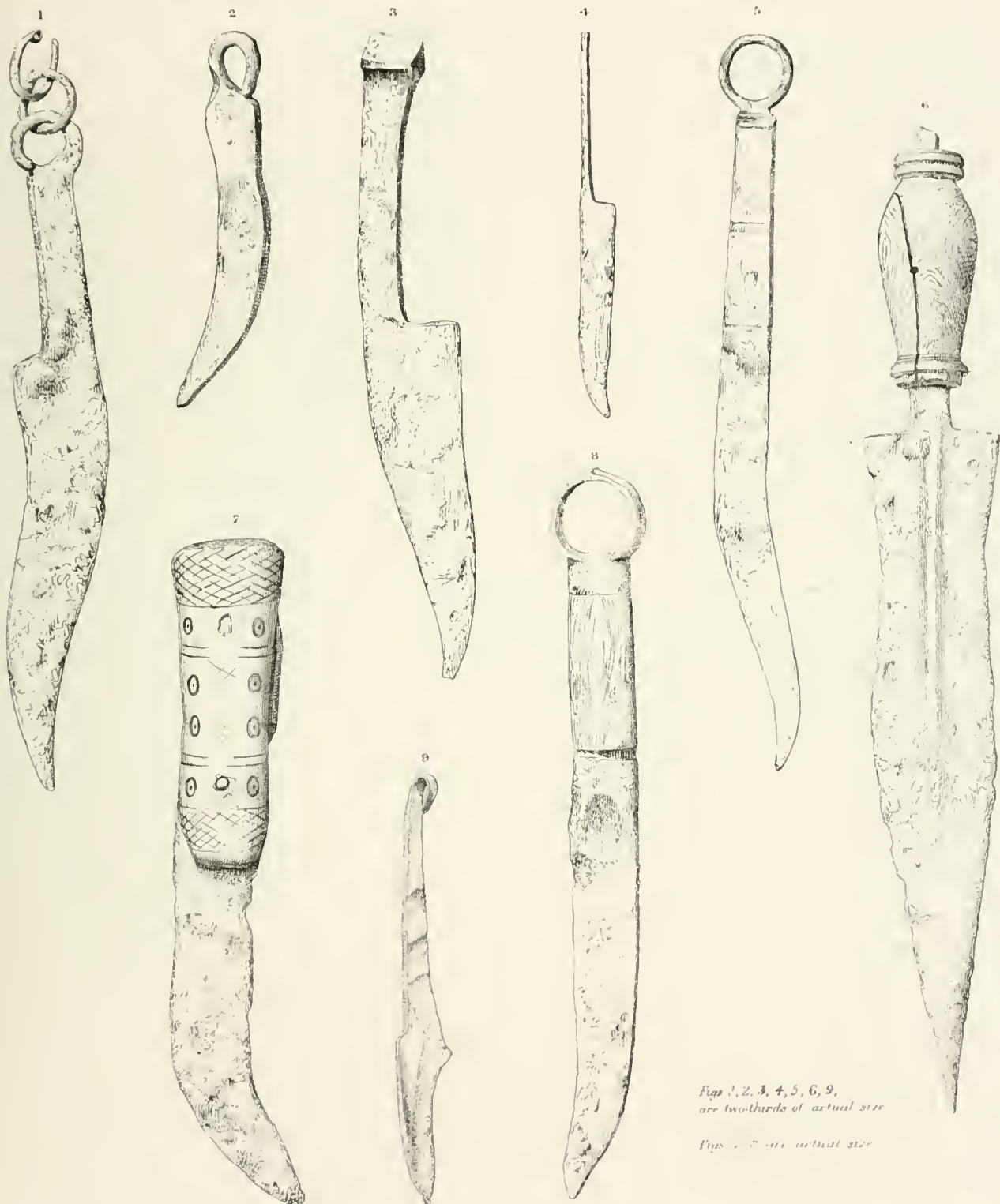


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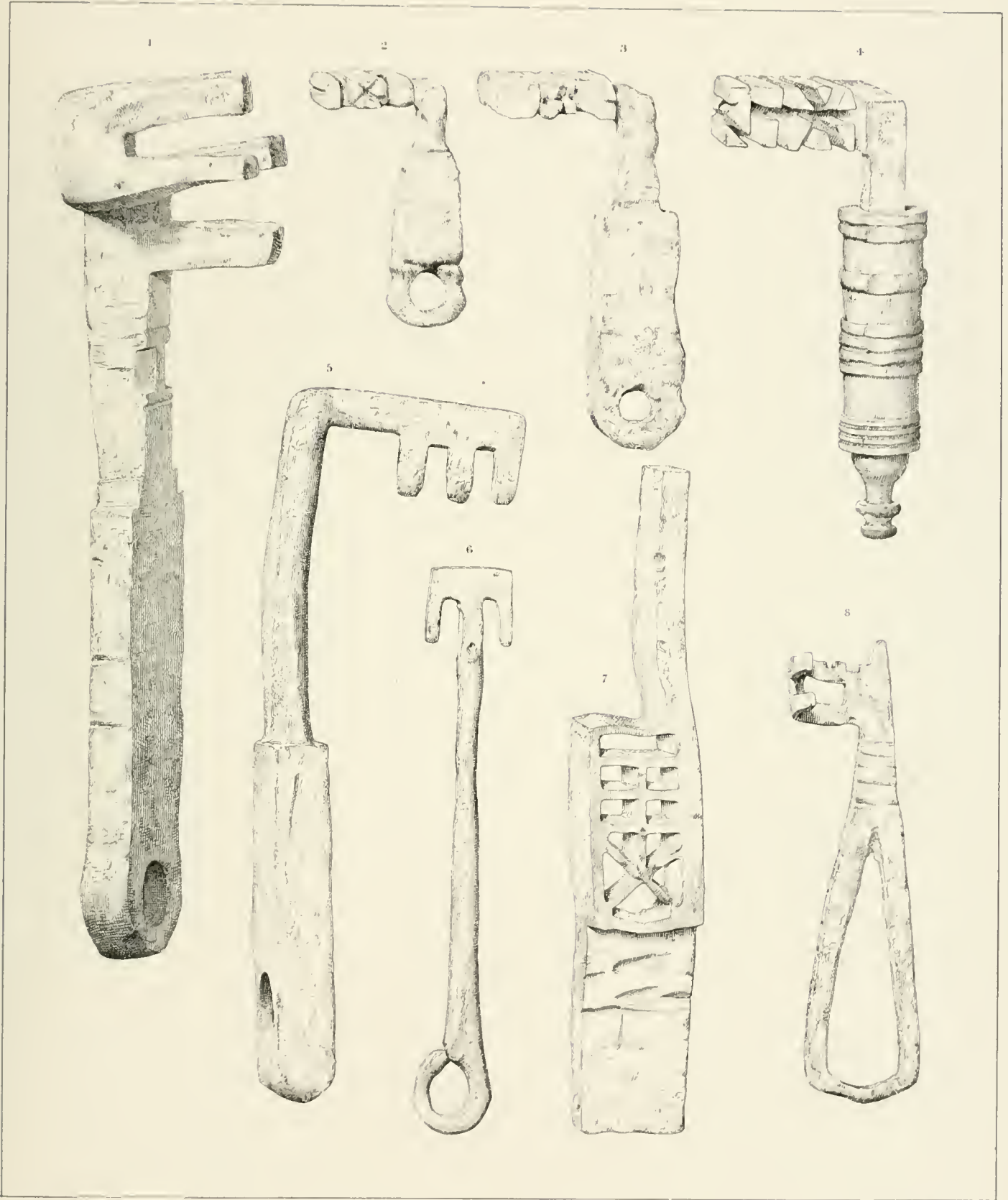
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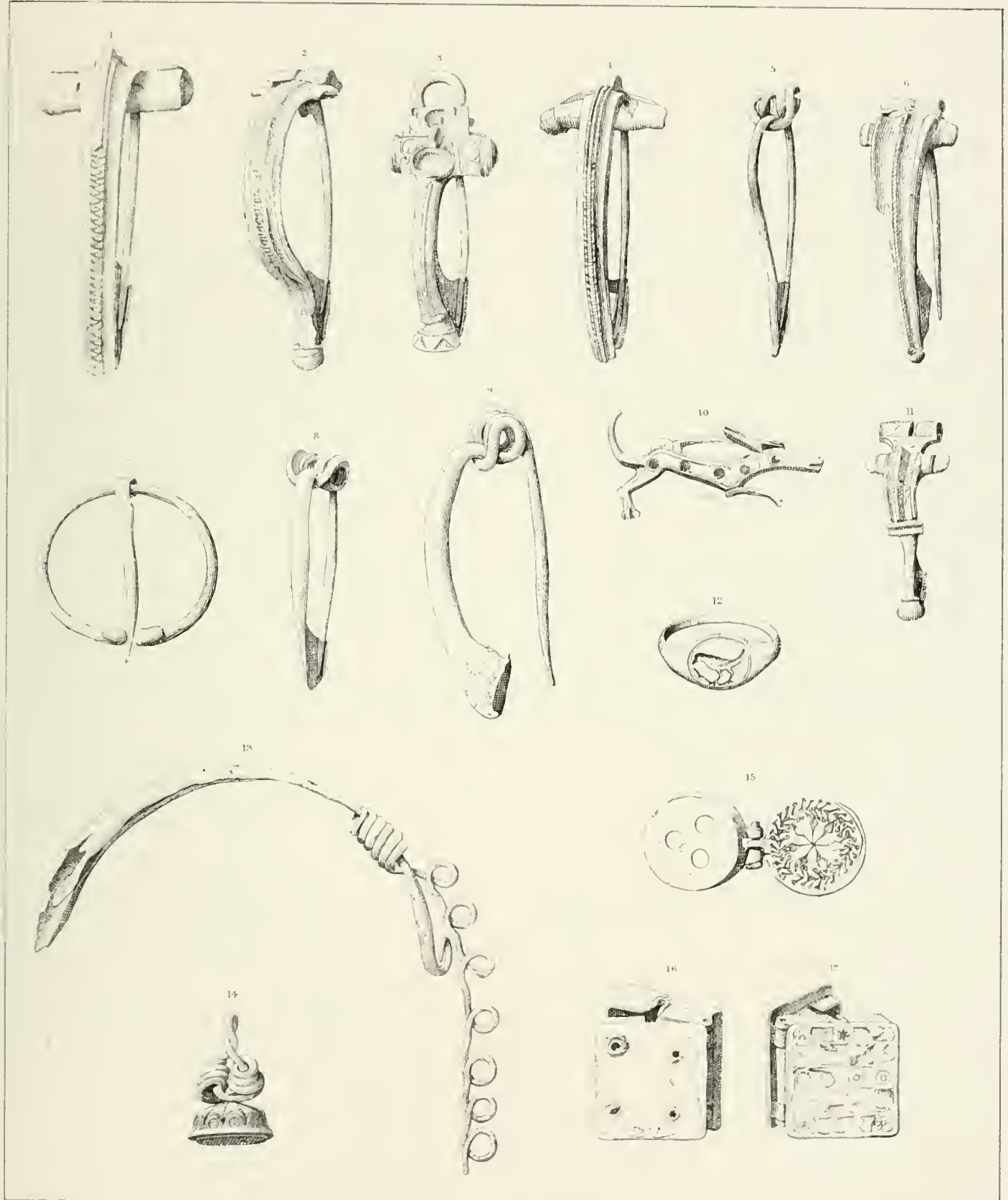
*Figs 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9,
are two-thirds of actual size*

Figs 7, 8 are actual size

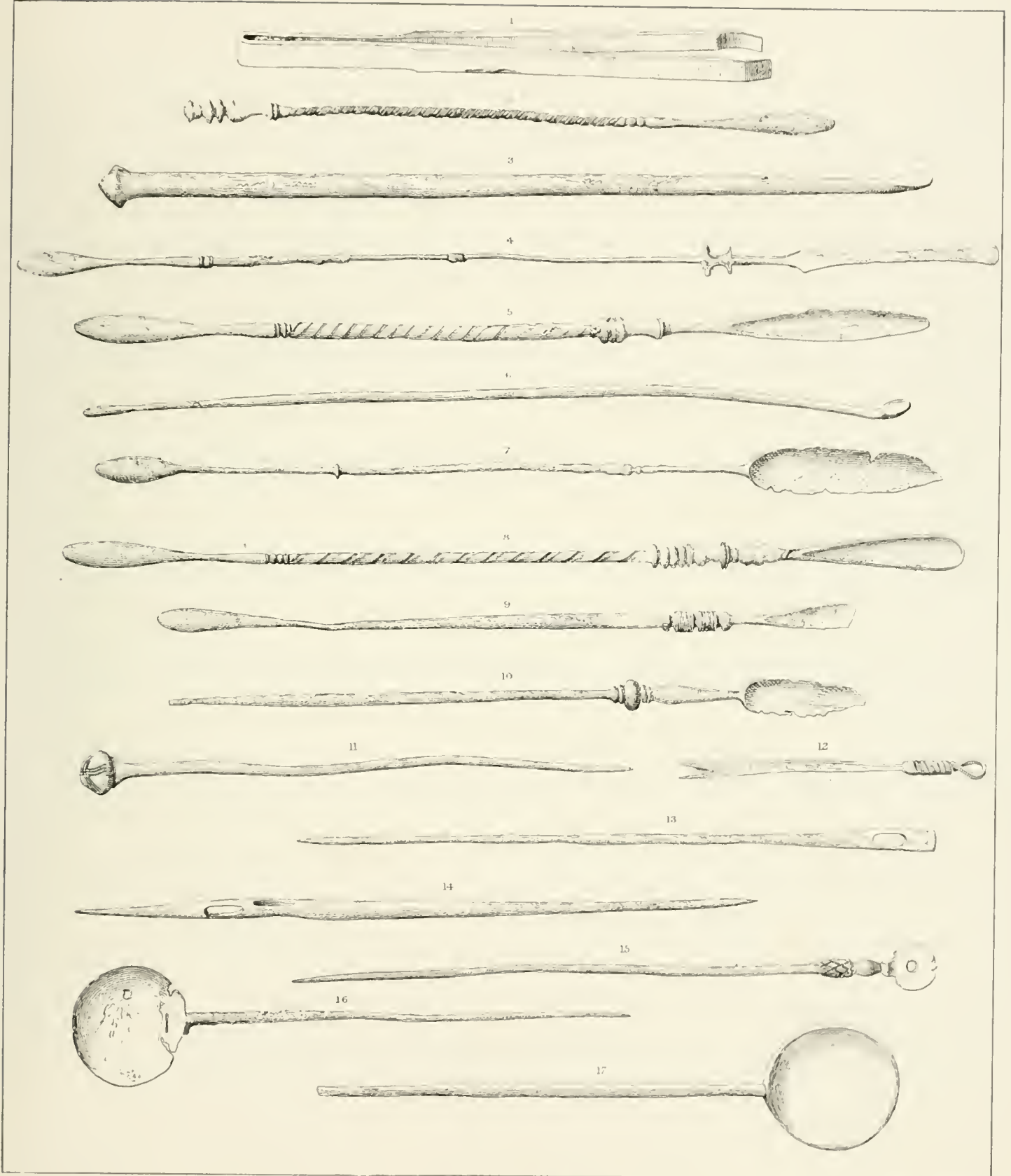
KNIVES AND "PUGIO" OR DAGGER.

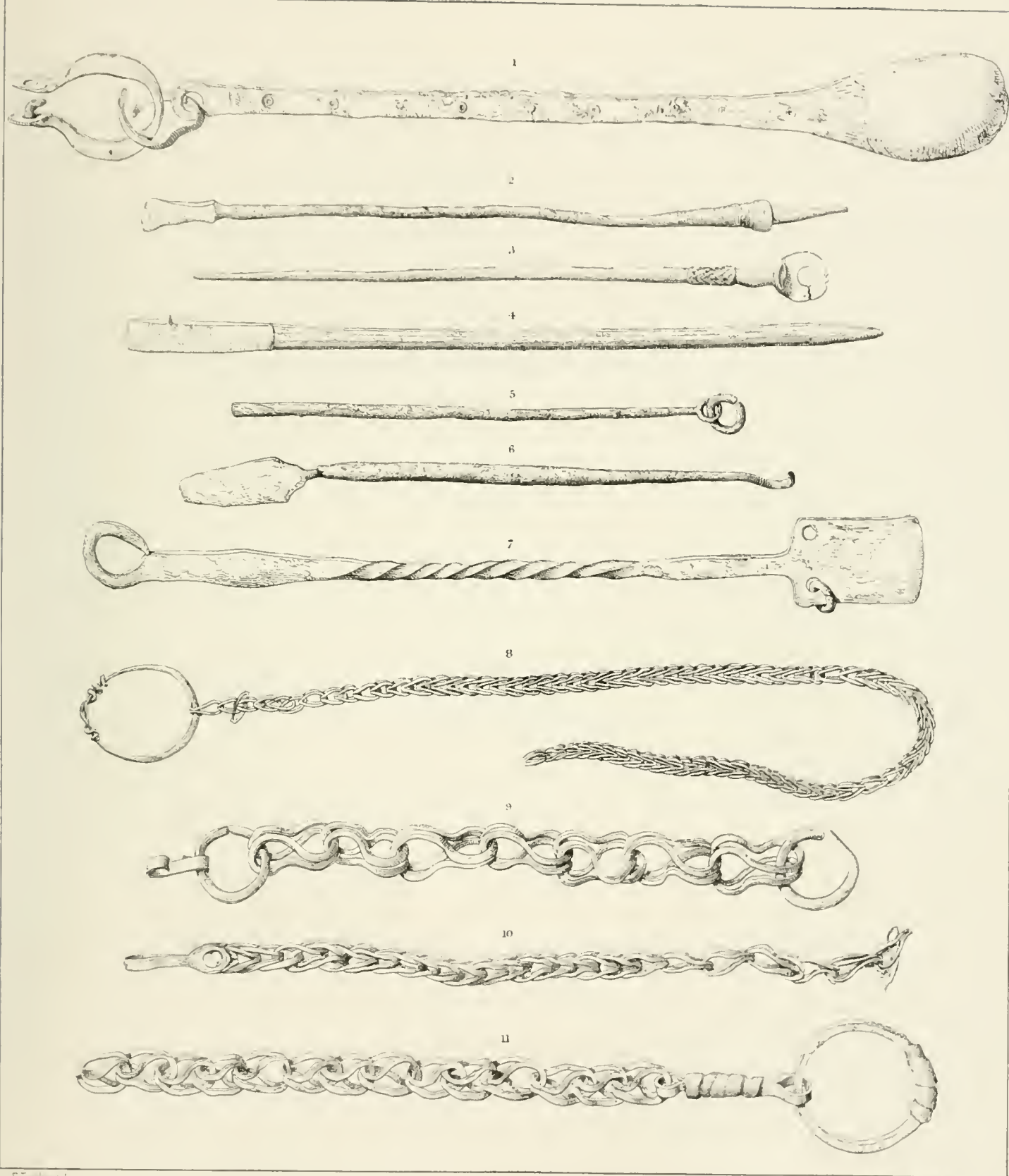


KEYS AND LOCK-BOLT

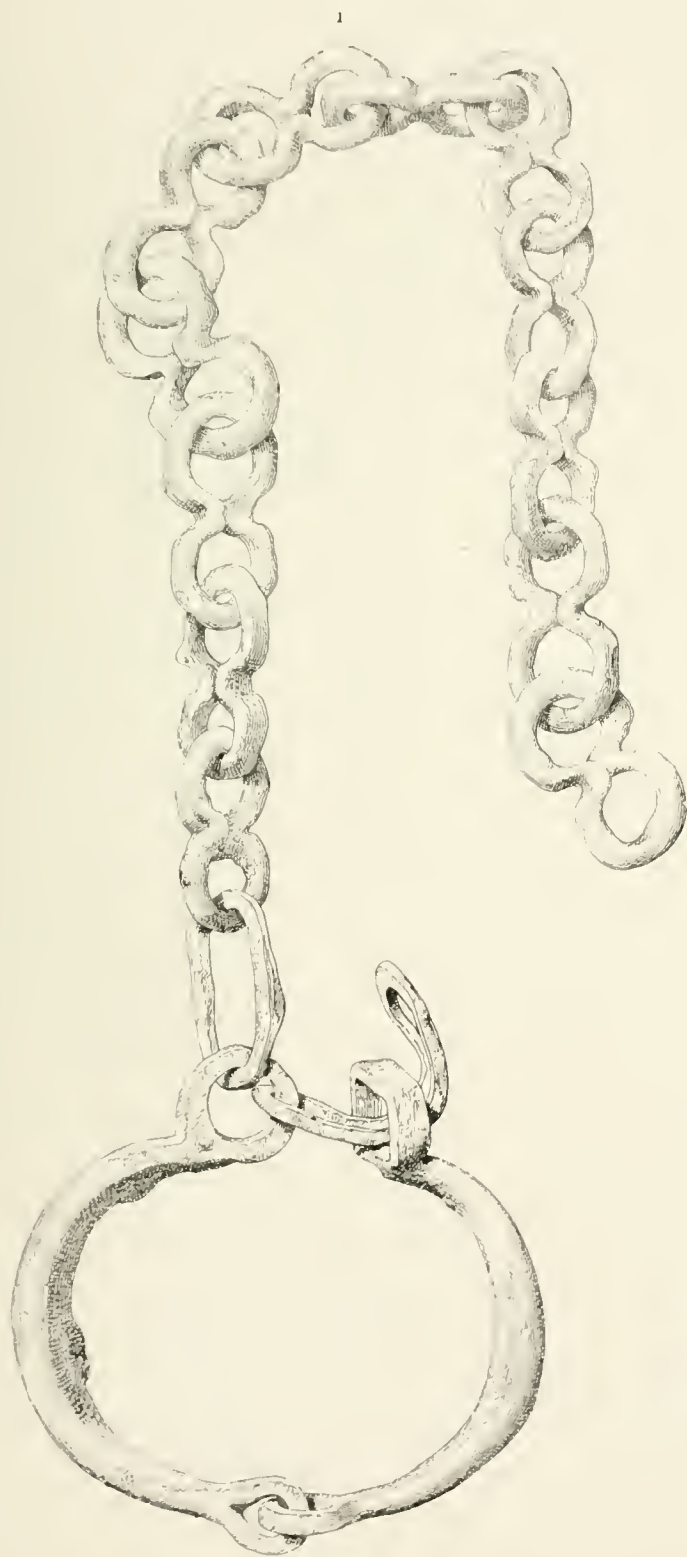


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